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AND

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER.

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OCTOBER, 1892—JULY, 1893.

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❖ HEBRAICA. ❖

VOL. IX. OCTOBER, 1892—JANUARY, 1893. NOS. I AND 2.

A LETTER TO AŠŠURBANIPAL.

BY S. ARTHUR STRONG,

London, England.

The following fragment seems to form part of a letter of congratulation addressed to Aššurbanipal, in which certain marvellous events in the experience of his father and grandfather are recorded for their political significance. The text is too mutilated to enable us to make out exactly what the god of wisdom revealed to Sennacherib; but the nature of Esarhaddon's vision is perfectly clear. At some time when he was preparing for his great expedition to Egypt, if not actually on the march thither, he saw the moon or the moon-god with two crowns. This sign was interpreted in favor of the promotion of the young prince Aššurbanipal—who had probably already been entrusted with a share in the government—to the full rank and title of king, and, as it seems, was promptly acted upon by Esarhaddon (probably in the year 673 B. C.). That there were political reasons to recommend this step on its own merits hardly needs demonstration, though it is perfectly possible that Esarhaddon may have been determined or confirmed in his choice of the occasion by some such fancied intimation of the divine purpose and approval. G. Smith, who has published an unsatisfactory rendering of lines 7 to 15 of the fragment (*Eponym Canon*, p. 164), gives a rationalistic explanation of the theophany, regarding it as an appearance of the moon surrounded by a double halo. The text of lines 8 to 16 has been transcribed by Strassmaier (A. V., pp. 532 and 759), who reads *tur* for *i* (*ki-i*) at the beginning of line 10, and has mistaken the characters for *êburu* and *Nusku* in lines 12 and 13. For the difficult word *ada pu* in line 8 see Delitzsch, *Woerterbuch*, p. 166, with the passage of Sennacherib there referred to.

The obverse of the tablet contains three more and the reverse seven fragments of lines, but too meagre and mutilated to yield any connected sense.

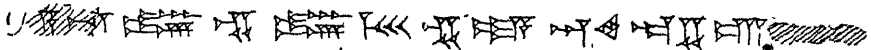
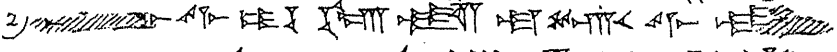

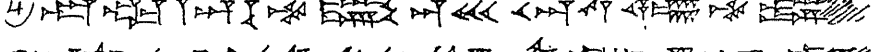
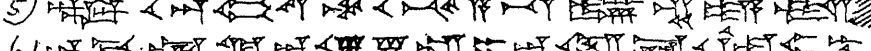
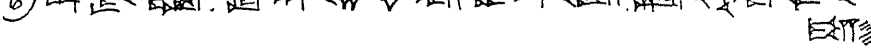

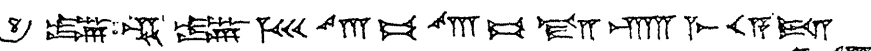
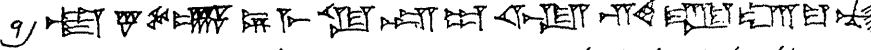
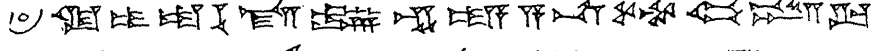
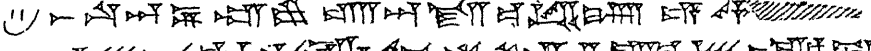
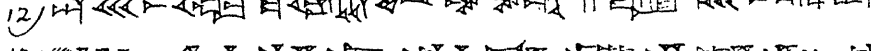
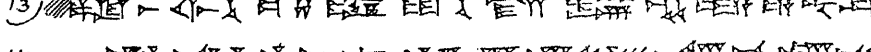
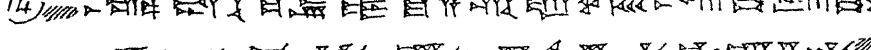
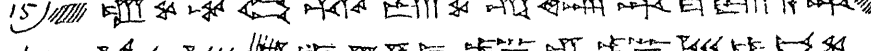
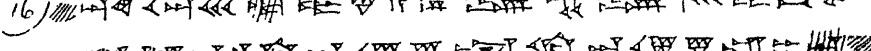
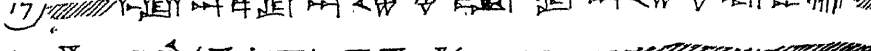
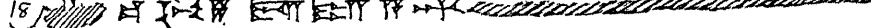
TRANSLITERATION.

1. a-na šarri bēl šarrâni bēli-ia Aššur Bēl....
2. ša(?) ina pi-i-šu el-li la muš-pi-li....
3. 1000 šanâti a-na šarri bēli-ia balâtu....
4. arad-ka Marduk-šumu-ušur Sin u Šamaš šul-mu šarri....
5. Nabû u Marduk šuma u zira a-na šarri bēli-ia li....
6. bēlit Ninua Ištar ša Arba-ilu kima ummi u âḫâti lit-tar-ra....
7. Aššur ilu ṭi-mi a-na abu abi-šu ša šarri bēli-ia abkalli ik-di
8. šarri bēl šarrâni lib-bi lib-bi ša abkalli u a-da-pu....
9. tu-ša-tir ni-mê-ki apsî u gi-mir um-ma-nu....
10. ki-i abi-šu ša šarri bēli-ia a-na Mu-šur il-lik....
11. ina ka-an-ni Harrânu bît ili ša êrini ê-bir....
12. Sin ina êli êburi kam-mu-us šina agî ina kaḫḫadi ...
13. Nusku ina pâni-šu iz-za-az abi-šu ša šarri bēli-ia ê-tar-ba....
14.ina kaḫḫadi-šu is-sa-kan ma-a tal-lak mâtâti ina lib-bi ta-kaš-šad
15. [tal]-lak Mušur ik-ta-šad ri-iḫ-ti ma-ta-a-ti....
16.Aššur u Sin la kan-ša-a-ni šarru bēl šarrâni i-kaš-šad
17.u Nusku Ištar ša Ninua Ištar ša Arba-ilu....
18.kussû da-ra-a-ti.....

TRANSLATION.

1. To the king, lord of kings, my lord, Aššur Bel....
2. in whose shining mouth that which is not confounded....
3. 1000 years to the king my lord (his) life [may he lengthen]....
4. thy servant Marduk-šumu-ušur: Sin and Šamaš peace to the king....
5. may Nabû and Marduk (his) name and seed for the king my lord [establish]....
6. may the lady of Nineveh and Ištar of Arbela like the mother and sister turn(?) ...
7. Aššur, god of wisdom, to the grandsire of the king my lord, the strong leader....
8. the king, lord of kings, grandson of the leader and shield(?).....
9. 'Thou shalt restore the wisdom of the deep, and the whole people....
10. When the father of the king my lord to Egypt went....
11. among the reeds of Harran, the house of the god of cedar, he went in...
12. Sin over the harvest stayed, two crowns upon his head....

13. Nusku in front of him stood. The father of the king my lord went in. . . .
14. [the crown] on his head he set: 'Thou shalt go; the countries in the midst thou shalt conquer, [he said].
15. the road to Egypt he took; the rest of the lands.
16. [In the might of] Aššur and Sin them that are disobedient the king, lord of kings, shall subdue.
17.and Nusku, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela.
18.a throne everlasting.

- 1) 
- 2) 
- 3) 
- 4) 
- 5) 
- 6) 
- 7) 
- 8) 
- 9) 
- 10) 
- 11) 
- 12) 
- 13) 
- 14) 
- 15) 
- 16) 
- 17) 
- 18) 

INSCRIPTION OF NEBUKADNEZZAR, SON OF NIN-EB-NADIN-ŠUM.

BY REV. J. N. STRASSMAIER, S. J.,

London, England.

The well-known king of Babylon, Nebukadnezzar II., who reigned from 604-561, was the son of Nabopolassar. In the fragmentary inscription of the British Museum, Sp. II. 407, of which the text is given here, mention is made of Nabû-kudurri-uṣur king of Babylon, the son of Nin-eb-nadin-šum. As we do not know the genealogy of Nebukadnezzar I., who is mentioned in the Synchronous History as the antagonist of the king Aššur-riš-iši, we might be right in identifying him with the king mentioned in this inscription, and then we may put this king with Prof. Jules Oppert (in his *Real Chronology and the true History of the Babylonian Dynasties*) in the 13th or 12th century B. C. (i. e. 1240-1234 B. C. or after 1123 B. C.), a short time before Tiglath-pileсар I.

The fragment remaining is a small part of the tablet, which when complete might have had about 40-50 lines on both sides, and more than half of the lines are broken off at the left hand. It seems to have contained the history of the king Nabû-kudurri-uṣur, and the fragmentary lines show us still some interesting facts, although without the clear historical connection. In l. 2 the tablets of the series "The illumination of Bel" are mentioned, of which many fragments are still extant in the Kuyunjik Collection of the British Museum; apparently they were brought from Babylon (to Assyria?), and l. 4 scribes were instituted and a memorial slab (abnu narû) was put up by Nabû-kudurri-uṣur the son of Nin-eb-nadin-šum, a statue of the Lady of Heaven (ḡalam Bilit šamê) was dedicated with the signs (parḡi-šu) and movements of the heaven (alkakati-šu) written upon it, and put up with tabletsin Babylon. These disconnected lines seem to indicate, that Nabû-kudurri-uṣur built an astronomical observatory, where a copy of the grand astrological work, "The Illumination of Bel," as Prof. Sayce translated the nûru Bel, was kept. The reverse mentions campaigns of the (same?) king, "the people of the land of Hattu in the month Iyyar in the 3d year....Babylon before his soldiers they took....he gathered his troops, in 13 days....they conquered, of the people dwelling in the city Ammananu....their heads he cut off...." It is known, that Nebukadnezzar I. made conquests in the north of Syria; compare H. Winckler's *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, page 95.

son of Nin-eb-nadin-šum, Sp.II.407.

Obverse.

[illegible]

1. 年終結算
 2. 年終結算
 3. 年終結算
 4. 年終結算
 5. 年終結算
 6. 年終結算
 7. 年終結算
 8. 年終結算

Reverse.

12. ~~Handwritten scribbles~~

19.

Handwritten Chinese text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is arranged in several horizontal lines across the bottom half of the page.

22.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE BABYLONIAN CREATION TABLETS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO JENSEN'S KOSMOLOGIE AND BARTON'S TIAMAT.

BY REV. W. MUSS-ARNOLT, PH. D.,

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

I.

One of the most interesting publications in the domain of Assyriology is Prof. P. Jensen's *Kosmologie der Babylonier*,¹ exhibiting, as it does, the great progress of Assyrian research during the last ten years, due to the greater amount of fresh material and the constant increase in the number of well-trained students. The book was to have been the first part of a larger work on the mythology of the Babylonians, but the material grew to such an extent that the author decided to publish it as an independent treatise. And it is well that he did so, for the work would certainly have remained a torso like F. Hommel's *Semitische Völker und Kulturen*, or many other well known publications of classical philologists and Semitic scholars. It is a pity that Epping and Strassmaier's book² did not appear in time to be used by Jensen in the body of his work, instead of in the large appendices (pp. 310 sqq., 491 sqq.). The book has been highly praised by most Assyriologists and Semitic scholars,³ and, more or less, unfavorably criticised by E. Schrader and A. H. Sayce.⁴ Sayce's review, for the most part, is an answer to some unpleasant remarks of Jensen's on pp. 43 and 269 of his book. He believes that "on the whole, the general sense even of these more difficult texts, relating to religious, mythological or kindred subjects has been, long ago, made out; any one who will compare the translation given by Dr. Jensen of the Creation and Deluge tablets with the

¹ *Studien und Materialien. Mit einem vergleichenden Anhang und 3 Karten.* Strassburg, Trübner, 1890 (xvi. + 546) 8vo.

² *Astronomisches aus Babylon, oder das Wissen der Chaldäer über den gesternnten Himmel.* Freiburg i. Br., 1889, 8vo.

³ Carl Bezold in the *London Academy*, No. 945 (May 31, 1890), p. 375; K. Budde in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1890, No. 7, cols. 170-175; H. Zimmern in *ZA.*, V., 114-120; W. N(owack) in *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1890, No. 15, col. 524. Also cf. M. Jos. Halévy's review in *Revue critique* (1890), No. 25, p. 486 sq. and *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, XXII., 2, 180-208; Hugo Winckler in *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, July 19, 1890, Nos. 29, 30.

⁴ E. Schrader in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1890, No. 42 (cols. 535-7) and Sayce in *The Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature*, I., 135-140.

translations published more than fifteen years since by George Smith, will see that in all essential points they seldom vary much from one another; that except in supplying the broken portions of the text, there is little of really material consequence to be added to the existing translations of that particular document." That these words are not exactly correct, any observant and careful reader will see by comparing the specimens of translations (of passages of the Nimrod-Epos) given by Dr. Cyrus Adler in the *Johns Hopkins Circulars*, No. 55, (Jan. 1887),⁵ and by Professor Haupt in the quotations of the renderings of the opening lines of the Deluge-story in No. 69 (Feb. 1889) of the same Circulars, to which may be added the several quotations in No. II. of this article.

On page xiv. of the preface Jensen remarks that his book was intended also for readers, that are not Assyriologists. But, as a matter of fact, it will be found very disappointing by such readers, for it presumes a knowledge of the language of the cuneiform tablets, and every page fairly bristles with Sumerian (Akkadian) and Assyrian words and cuneiform characters (Sayce). What is, no doubt, sadly missed by many readers of Jensen's excellent book is an introductory chapter, containing a survey of the cuneiform documents, used in the body of his work, their character, source and approximate date of composition.

The whole book might easily have been reduced to about one-half of its size without losing any of its acknowledged merits. On the contrary, it would have gained much in clearness and precision; for there are many remarks which, though interesting, do not belong to the subject in discussion, and are rather confusing, diverting the reader's attention from the main topic.

The *Kosmologie* is divided into three parts: 1) the universe as a whole (pp. 1-260); 2) the Babylonian legends concerning the origin and development of the world (pp. 263-364); and 3) a new treatment of the deluge account (pp. 364-446). Then follows an appendix (pp. 447-490) consisting also of three parts, viz.: 1) Bēl-Dagān,⁶ 2) Ninib, the east (or morning) sun⁷ and 3) Ner(i)gal = Ur(a)gal⁸

⁵ E. g., *Nimr. Ep.*, VI. 68, Sayce translates *eat thy eye* reading *ini kul*, where we must read *inikul let us eat*; *ib.* l. 72, for Sayce's *my mother thou art not beautiful and I will not eat*, translate *my mother do not cook, for I will not eat* (so already Fox Talbot in *Rec. Past*, IX.); l. 73, *ša àk-kalu ukulāti pišāti* (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) *ū errēti*, *I should eat food, bad and accursed*, was translated by Oppert: *beaucoup manger ne fait que flatulences et diarrhée*; l. 193, *ušerib-ma italal ina uršū hammūti-šu*, Sayce: *he hangs it up in the rising of the fire*; Oppert: *he put it under the lounge of his mother-in-law*, while the passage really means: *he brought it (the hide of the divine bull) in and hung it up in the ancestral shrine of his family*.

⁶ Jensen considers Dagān a Semitic noun; (Bēl) Dagān = 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵; he is mentioned together with Anu, the Lord of heaven, and Ninib, the God of the rising sun, the corresponding form in Greek being Δαγών, while Ὠδάκων, name of the fish-man (Eusebius, ed. Schœne 10, 17) is an entirely different name. Dagān was not a fish-god, as has been believed since E. Hincks; III R. 68, 21 cd, we have *Ilu Dagān = Dagān Bēl*. Dagān is the same as Bēl in his old astronomical function (not = Bēl, the Lord of earth), located near the north pole, whence also his frequent mention together with Anu, whose astronomical place was the north pole of the ecliptic. Sanchunjathon's etymology: Δαγών, ὅς ἐστι Σίτων is based on a popular etymology from 𐎶𐎵 = *corn*. The Akkadian DA-GAN is evidently borrowed from the Assyrian.

Pp. 491-518 contain a number of additions and corrections, chiefly based on the study of *Epping* and *Strassmaier's* book. Two indexes, giving a selection of words and subjects treated, and three good maps showing 1) the course of the planet Venus according to III R. 57; 2) the Babylonian zodiac of about B. C. 1000; and 3) the world as conceived by the Babylonians, close the interesting and stimulating book.

The first part: The universe as a whole is by far the most valuable portion of the whole book, by which we may gain a fair idea from the documents which have come down to us, of the conception of the universe formed by the ordinary Babylonian.

The earth (danninu;⁹ KI=erçitim) was round and immovable, a lofty mountain (Har-sag[gal] kurkurra,¹⁰ and E-KUR = bit šadē); and rested on the abyss of the waters (apsū, zuab).¹¹ But we may well ask here,

⁹ Ninib, according to Sayce and Jensen, is the correct pronunciation of the cuneiform characters, while Delitzsch and others read them A-dar; but, says Jensen, the reading *Adar* is derived from the Biblical *Adrammelech*, whose meaning is not certain. Adar was formerly explained as the God of the hot mid-day sun (Süd-sonne) and identified with Heracles, Sandan and Simson. I believe, on the whole, that Adar is the true reading of the characters. As to the etymology, I should say that it may be derived from adaru, a synonym of šapaṭu and dānu, thus meaning the *judge, decider*. The ideogram is best read AN-BAR, i. e., c. st. of anu = 𐎶 god, and baru to cut, decide. He is called Adar ša udazale, *God of dawn or daybreak*; ud(t)-gal-lu = *storm or war-god*, because he wrestles in the morning against the powerful darkness (cf. I R. 17, 1-9; 29, 1-25; K 128, Obv.). His consort is Gula (𐎶𐎵), the mighty lady, mistress over life and death; his planet is Saturn, his star Antares. To the Assyrian he was the god of war.

⁸ The correct pronunciation of this name must have been Nergal, not Nergal; cf. Mandean 𐌶𐌵𐌶, Greek Νηρυλῆσπος, Hebr. 𐤍𐤒𐤂𐤏. He is the God 1) of the realm of the dead; 2) of death and pestilence; 3) of war and as such 4) of destruction. His name is derived by Akkadists from Akkadian NE-UNU-GAL *Lord of the great city*, i. e. the grave (kabru), whence arose the dialectical form NE-URU-GAL (cf. *Am. Journ. Philol.* VIII. 274; *PAOS.*, October 1887, p. xl). This etymology was first suggested by Delitzsch in the second edition of his *Lesestücke*. Oppert (in *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1878, 1048) derives the noun from 𐎶𐎵 = *the wandering*; also see Halévy, *ZA.* III. 343, below. From the same root we would have irkallu, name of an infernal deity = irkallu, from 𐎶𐎵 = 𐎶𐎵 to march, stamp. O. Keller, *Lateinische Volksetymologie*, p. 237 has derived from this Semitic root also the name Ἡρακλῆς. (See, however, my "Semitic Words in Greek and Latin," p. 67, rem. 3.) Nergal is the warrior *κατ' ἐσχάτην* and therefore, says Jensen, the planet Mars is sacred to him, identifying Mars with Gud(ud) = karradu = *warrior* (p. 477); but according to Epping's recent calculations the planet Gud-(ud) is neither Jupiter (so Oppert) nor Mars, but Mercury. As god of devastation, Nergal is called A-ri-a, which, no doubt, is derived from the Semitic aru (Hebr. 𐤀𐤕𐤓) *hon* (V R. 46, 19 ed; Pinch. Texts, 20, a-ri-a = harabu, *destroy*). Originally he was the god of the hot summer-heat, from which the other epithets developed.

⁹ danninu from dananu *be strong, firm* = *terra firma*; the inscriptions speak of the waters above and below the danninu; also see *Berl. Philolog. Wochenschrift*, 1890 p. 929; Halévy combines therewith Hebr. 𐤁𐤏𐤍 *strong, mighty monster*.

¹⁰ According to Halévy a Semitic word, composed of har (= hur from huršu, *mountain*) + sag (= šaqū *summit*) + gal (from 𐎶𐎵 *be great*) + kurkurra (cf. Syr. ܟܘܪܬܐ; fem. kurtu = *continent, terra firma*); E-KUR = E (Hebr. 𐤀 *island, habitation*, from root 𐤀𐤍 to live, a syn. of bitu, *house*) + Kur.

¹¹ Apsū (m.) *abyss, deep, ocean*, cf. Hebr. 𐤁𐤏𐤍 = Ἀπασών of Damascius, the σκότος of Berosus. 𐤁𐤏𐤍 *be void, empty*; the apsū encloses the earth like a circle; it was also, according to *Rec. Past.*, I. 65 the name of the basin for purification attached to a Babylonian temple, corresponding to the sea of Solomon's temple. Zuab, usually explained as the Akkadian prototype of apsū is also a Semitic noun = zuabbu, *ocean*, a form fu'allu from zūb *run, flow*, whence the name of the river Zāb.

how such a conception could have arisen among the inhabitants of the alluvial plain of Babylonia, and the passages, invoked by Jensen in support of his view, admit of a different interpretation (Sayce).

Above the earth, stretched the arch of the sky, the heaven of God Anu, resting on the foundation of heaven (ešid šamē); above this firmament, again, is the "inner part of heaven" (kirib or libbi šamē), the abode of the gods, called also E-BA(B)BARA¹² = bit šamši *sunlit house*, because here the sun shone continually. Between the visible heaven and the libbi šamē were the "upper waters," an heavenly ocean (zikuma and edima).¹³

At both north poles, that of the ecliptic as well as that of the equator, sat the astronomical Anu and Bel (Dagān); below, in the furthest south, perhaps in the constellation of Argo, the astronomical Ea.

The sky was divided by "ways" or "paths" of the movable stars, one of them being the Anu-path = the ecliptic (harrān šud Anim); another the Bel-path = the Tropic of Cancer, and a third the Ea-path = the Tropic of Capricorn. On the other side of the world, to the east and the west, there were doors, through which the sun passed on his daily circuit; but it does not follow that either the Babylonian poet, or his contemporaries, believed in their existence, as little as we believe the earth to be fixed and stationary, because we may say, that the sun rises or sets.

In the sky there are four classes of heavenly bodies: 1) the stars κατ' ἐξοχήν = the fixed stars; 2) the Bibbu¹⁴-stars, i. e. the moving, retreating sheep = the planets; 3) the raven stars (kak kāb aribu) = the comets, and 4) the meteors (the ǧarār-stars). Nos. 3 and 4 are rather doubtful. Of special importance, among the fixed stars, are the Maši-stars, i. e. the stars of the ecliptic and the zodiacal signs, which, Babylonian in their origin, were largely borrowed by the Greeks and other nations.

In the pre-Semitic period of Chaldæa, the earth was divided into seven parallel zones (tub(p)uḫāti) encircling one another and divided by dykes or mounds; this conception was modified by the Semitic invaders, who substituted for it the division of the earth into four equal quadrants (kibrāti).

Toward the east is situated the "bright mountain" (IV R. 15, 23 and 37a) the great "mountain of sunrise" (šad ǧit šamši); in the west the "dark mountain" (IV R. 15, 21 and 35a) the "mountain of sunset" (šad erib šamši). Mysterious is the north of the earth (cf. creation-tablet IV., 132). Beneath the mountain of the east is found the "splendid chamber," the hall of fate (parak

¹² Babbara, according to Halévy, for barbaru from bararu, *shine, be clear*; cf. birbiru and bibru, *clearness, splendor*.

¹³ Zikum, according to Sayce, *Rec. Past*, VII. 166, was the sky regarded as the primeval deep, out of which the universe proceeded; she is called the mother of Anu and of all the gods. According to Jensen it is an Akkadian word, while Halévy, connects it with modern Hebrew and Arabic zik, Eth. zēk *further, beyond*. Edimmu as a synonym of naḫbu, *cave, hollow*, occurs in many syllabaries.

¹⁴ Cf. II R. 6, 4 cd; 49, 55 cd; III R. 57, 62-64a.

šimāti), which again is a part of UBŠUGINA,¹⁵ the assembly (puḥru) room of the gods in Ekur, the earth; here the gods gather at new year, under the presidency of Marduk, to determine the lot for king and country. Jensen believes that the name Marduk is a compound of Mar + Duazaga *child* or *son of the shining hall*. Also see Zimmern, *l. c.* p. 161, and my *Assyro-Babylonian Months*, p. 29. Between heaven and earth toward east and west are the waters of the east (tāmtu ša ġit šamši, *the ocean whence the sun rises*), and the waters of the west (tāmtu ša erib šamsi, *into which the sun sets*), which, like the ocean in the south, pass over into the apsū, also called naḫbu. This ocean surrounds the earth as a nītu an *enclosure* (V R. 19, 21 *ed nītum ša lamē = kar from kararu to surround*).

The "island of the blessed" is located by Jensen on the southern horizon of the Persian gulf (nār marratim); and arguments are adduced against the identification of the Babylonian mountain of the world (ḥar-sag-gal kurkurra) with the "mount of the congregation of the gods alluded to in Isaiah xiv. 13. There is no connection between the Hebrew שֶׁאֵל and Assyrian šu-ālu; nor has אֶרֶץ (Isaiah xxxiii. 7) anything to do with the Assyrian Aralū. Beneath the earth lay Hades, the realm of the dead, its entrance toward the west. An old myth (IV R. 31) asserts that it is surrounded by seven walls and approached through seven gates, which serve as a counterpart to the seven tub(p)uḫāti of the earth. Beneath, the earth is hollow, in this cavity (būru) and below it are the waters of the apsū, *the world-ocean*. A map (No. 3), drawn by Euting, greatly facilitates the correct understanding of this part of Jensen's book.

It is very remarkable that the cosmogonic ideas of the Babylonians are reflected in many of their buildings and proceedings. Thus a temple in Erech corresponds in its stories to the seven tub(p)uḫāti of the world (*cf.* V R. 41, 17-18g); to the earth as *the mountain of the countries* (šad ša matāti) and the *mountain house* (bīt ša šadē = Ekur) corresponds a temple of the same name; and as the gods assemble on new year's day in the hall of fate, under Marduk's presidency, to determine the course of events for the year, so there is in Esagila, the temple of Marduk in Babylon, a similar shrine where the king assembled with his nobles to do the same. This fact has recently been made use of by H. Zimmern to explain the origin of the Pūrīm-festival. The history and meaning of Pūrīm has been the subject of two very important contributions which, I am afraid, will not receive the attention due them owing to the fact that they are contained in two journals only read by specialists. In the year 1887,

¹⁵ *Cf.* Jensen, pp. 188 rem. 2; 239sq. Ubšuginaku II R. 35, 41ab from Akkadian = place, room of assembling; also *cf.* Fleming, *Nebuchadnezzar*, p. 37, and Zimmern in Stadel's *Zeitschrift*, XI. 161; Neb. II. 54sq.; IV R. 63, 17b; but M. Halévy says it is an Assyrian word: ub = uppu (from apapu) = *circle, district*; šu = idu *hand* and also = *place*, (*cf.* Heb. טָ) + gina = nīgina (from nikimtu = nakamtu *heaping up, gathering*).

Lagarde published in the 34th volume of the *Göttingische Gelehrte Abhandlungen*, an essay on Pūrīm, as a contribution toward the history of religion. "In none of his labors, is there such a wealth of philological matter of which none of his readers is master. Not only do we see here an intimate knowledge of the languages, but also of the intricacies of the Avestan, Neo-Persian, Sogdian, Cappadocian, Armenian and Chorasmanian calendars" (Driver). He develops the view, indicated already by the author in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 161-165, that the old Eranian festival called Farward, celebrated in honor of the dead, passed under the Arsacidæ to the Armenians, became afterwards a Persian new years' festival, and that Pūrīm, in the LXX. φρουραι, (φρουραια, φρουριμ, φρουραμ) agrees with this word linguistically, though otherwise applied and used to denote a feast of a different kind. That there is no Persian word resembling Pūr with the meaning *lot* seems to be shown conclusively. Also see the author's *Mittheilungen*, II. 380 and *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, July 15, 1887, No. 15.

The second contribution is by Zimmern (in Stade's *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XI. 157-169). He derives pūr, pūrīm from the Assyro-Babylonian puḥru, *assembly* (see above) and rejects its derivation from the Persian farwardīgān. The prototype of the Purim festival is to be sought in Babylonia, where the most important festival was new year's day, a festival celebrated in the spring on the first days of the month Nisan. The festival is fully described in the records of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus. The most memorable event of this festival, according to the belief of the Babylonians, was a gathering (puḥru) of all the gods under the leadership of Marduk, in which they determined the lots to king and country for the coming year. In Esther III. 7 pūr is paraphrased by נָוֶרֶל, *lot*, which meaning for פֶּנֶךְ could not be explained, either from the Semitic or the Persian. If, however, פֶּנֶךְ is equivalent to Babylonian puḥru,—the solemn assembly of the gods, in which the "lots" were cast for the year,—it is easy to understand how this paraphrase could have been used. The phrase "the days of the Pūrīm" (Esth. ix. 31) was originally an appellative expression for the Babylonian zāgmuku, and only in the course of time did it become the proper name for the festival. The use of the plural פֶּנֶךְִים is easily explained from the fact that the Babylonians had a number of festival gatherings and banquets in imitation of the assembly of the gods. We know that the Jewish Purimfestival was celebrated with eating and drinking and in Aramaic the word pūrā, properly *assembly*, has received the meaning of *meal*, *eating*. Zimmern believes that the whole narrative of the book of Esther¹⁶ is a

¹⁶ On the book of Esther see also *Revue des études juives* V. (No. 9) p. 121 sqq.; *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte des Judentums*, Vol. 35, pp. 425-442; 473-503; 521-542. On Pūr, Pūrīm see, in addition, M. J. Halévy, *Revue des études juives*, XV. (No. 30) 289 sqq.; and M. Dieulafoy, *Le Livre d'Esther et le Palais d'Assuérus*, *ibid.* XVI. (No. 32) pp. cclxy.-ccxci. According to Geo. Hoffmann, *ZA.* II. 52, אֶחָדָשׁ is to be pronounced *Axahōrōsh*. Esther's true name before her marriage to Xerxes (486-485) was Hadāsa, the Persian for Greek ἑσθήρ; *Esther* = Σάρδεια. On the Septuagint version of the book see, especially, B. Jacob in Stade's *Zeitschrift* X. 241-298.

Jewish reflex of the old Babylonian traditions; that Mordechai (or rather Mar-dochai) is derived from Marduk. As the God Marduk was the hero of the Babylonian *zagnuku*-festival, presiding over the *puḫru* of the gods, so also was Mordechai the hero of the Pūrīm-festival. The contest between Mordechai and Haman is but a Jewish version of the Babylonian legend of the fight between Marduk, the principle of light, and Tiamat, the principle of darkness, which ended in the victory of Marduk in the one narrative and that of Mordechai in the other.

II.

THE FIRST TABLET OF THE CREATION-SERIES—TEXT: *TSBA.*, IV. 368, plate 1; DELITZSCH, *Lesestücke*,³ 93.

Professor Sayce's words, that "any one who will compare the translation given by Jensen of the creation tablets with that published more than fifteen years since by George Smith, will see at once that in *all essential*¹ points they seldom vary much from one another," induced me to engage in a study of the different translations of these tablets, with the view of pointing out the merits of each successive translator, as far as I could get access to their translations. The most important fragment is the first tablet, and I will, at once, say, as the result of my study, that the translation of Jensen differs in *some of the most essential points* from that of George Smith and of Professor Sayce himself.

1. George Smith's translation is as follows:² "when above, were *raised* the heavens, and below on the earth a *plant* had not *grown up*; the abyss also had not *broken open* their *boundaries*; the chaos (or water) Tiamat (or sea) was the producing-mother of the whole of them. Those waters *at the beginning* were *ordained*; but a *tree* had not *grown*, a *flower* had not *unfolded*. When the gods had not sprung up, any one of them; a *plant* had not *grown*, and *order* did not exist; were made also the great gods, etc.

2. H. Fox Talbot³ translated the first two lines quite correctly, evidently guided by the German edition of Smith's *Chald. Account*; but then he continues: 3) "And the abyss had not *opened* its *arms*; 4) the chaos of ocean was the mother of all; 6) *men* not *dwelt together*; *animals* not yet *wandered about*." The rest is again rendered quite correctly. The whole is repeated *verbatim* in *RP.*, IX. 117. Talbot reads 1. 2) šiplis for šaplis; and in kitu; 3) la pa-tu-u; 4) tišallat for ti-amat; 7) šubū for šupū; 13) tame for ūme; bu-da instead of GID-DA = arkuti. Del. *Lesestücke* l.c. does not warrant us to read such signs.

¹ Italicized by the present writer.

² *The Chaldaean Account of Genesis*, 1876, p. 62. The English italicized words indicate expressions which I consider a wrong translation.

³ *TSBA.*, V. 426 sqq.

3. Delitzsch in the additions to the German edition of Smith's *Chaldean Genesis* (1876)⁴ reads more correctly, l. 2) šapliš erçi-tim, omitting ina before KI-tim (see *ibid.*, rem. 1); 4) ti-amat, 7) šupū; 13) ū me. He corrected Smith's rendering of ll. 1-2 as follows: "When above not yet announced heaven, below the earth a name not yet named." In his notes to Lotz, *Tiglath Pileser*, I. (1880) p. 184, Delitzsch was the first to read in l. 2, ma-tum and l. 3, apsū-ma reš-tu-u translating: "apsu was their first begetter, the lady Tiamat the bearer of them all." One can see immediately what a great improvement in reading and translation of these lines we owe to Delitzsch, and we can almost say that, on the whole, he has first determined the correct transliteration of this difficult text. In Mürdter's *Kurzgefasste Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 46, Delitzsch considers ll. 3-5, apsūma-iḫikuma, as the apodosis to ll. 1-2.

4. M. François Lenormant in *Les origines de l'histoire* (1879) I. 494, translates l. 3) l'abîme (apsu) sans limites; 4) le chaos de la mer, celle qui enfanta leur totalité; and l. 6) un troupeau non était parqué; une plante non avait poussé.

5. In the second edition of Geo. Smith's *Chald. Account of Genesis* (1880, revised by A. H. Sayce) the translation of the first tablet agrees with that of H. Fox Talbot, except in ll. 6) and 11) where we read: "the flowering seed was not gathered, the marsh plant was not grown;" and "to growth they..."

6. M. Jules Oppert's rendering of tablet I. in the appendix to Ledrain's *Histoire d'Israel*, I. p. 411 sqq., differs from that of his predecessors especially in ll. 5) Les eaux qu'ils contenaient confluaient ensemble, 6) Il y eut des ténèbres sans rayon de lumière, un ouragan sans accalmie; l. 11) un grand nombre d'années passèrent; 13) jusqu'à ce que s'augmentât leur nombre; also transposing ll. 13 and 12.⁵

7. Eb. Schrader, *KAT*,² p. 2 sqq., follows in general Oppert's rendering, especially in l. 6. ll. 3/4 he considers a parenthesis; in the appendix, p. 607, Schrader changes the translation of reštū by "first" to that of "lofty;" mūmu Tiamat is to him "the waving sea" (die wogende See). In the English translation of the book (1885), Cope Whitehouse does not differ from Schrader's rendering.

8. M. Joseph Halévy's transliteration and translation of frag. I., is found in his *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire* (Paris, 1883, pp. 338 sq.). He differs from M. Oppert in translating ll. 6/7 by: "une (vaste) plaine (aqueuse) sans produits, un (immense) étang sans plantes. Šupū in l. 7 he renders by "brilliant," with which Pinches *BOR.* IV., 28) agrees: "when none of the gods shone forth."

9. Worthy of note is also M. Stan. Guyard's article in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, I. No. 3 (May 1880) pp. 338 sqq. He corrects several of Lenormant's

⁴ George Smith's *Chaldäische Genesis*. Autorisirte Übersetzung von Hermann Delitzsch. Nebst Erläuterungen und fortgesetzten Forschungen von Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch. Leipzig, 1876, p. 293-98.

⁵ The Creation tablets were repeatedly translated by M. Jules Oppert. Cf. Nos. 174, 187, 213 and 213a, of my article: "The Works of Jules Oppert" in Delitzsch und Haupt's *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, II. 523-556.

mistakes, but I do not believe that his rendering of l. 5) by "Ils (apsū and Tiamat) séparèrent violemment leur eaux (de chaos)" is quite correct. In l. 6) he improves Lenormant by translating "aucun troupeau n'était encore rassemblé, aucune plante poussée."

10. Sayce in his *Hibbert Lectures* (1887, p. 384 sq.) adheres to the reading la pa-tu-u (l. 2) = "the unopened deep," which has long been given up; l. 6 he translates now: "the cornfield was unharvested; the pasture was ungrown. L. 8 "by no name were they recorded." Also see his rendering in *Records of the Past*², I. 133 sq.

11. The main change introduced by P. Jensen (*Kosmologie*, 269 sq.) is in l. 6, where he renders: "[während] ein Rohrstand sich [noch] nicht vereinigte und ein Rohrdickicht [noch] nicht erzeugt ward."

12. Jensen's work was published in January, 1890. In the same month appeared Th. G. Pinches' important article in *BOB.* IV., 27-33. Pinches published here Babylonian duplicates of tablets I. and II. The most important variants occur in l. 2, šapliš am-ma-tum,⁶ thus confirming the ma-tum, first proposed by Delitzsch; l. 3, mu-um-ma-al-li-da-at (pronounced, no doubt, mu-u-u-a-al-li-da-at); l. 6, ku-su-ru for ki-iḡ-ḡu-ra. Pinches' translation differs especially in l. 5 sqq.: "their waters at once burst forth, and cloud was not compacted, the plain was unsought; when none of the gods shone forth, a name was not recorded a symbol was not [raised ?]." Also see Pinches, "Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery," p. 147.

13. In May, 1890, Professor Barton presented to the American Oriental Society an article on the Creation-tablets, in which Tiamat was mentioned, i. e., Nos. I., IV. and V. The article appeared in 1891. Tablet I. line 2, Barton still reads [irḡi]-tum. I cannot agree with his rendering of l. 3, "the abyss was first then generated." L. 6, giparu can hardly mean *corn*. L. 7, šu-pu-u is translated "had been produced," while uštapu, l. 10, by "came forth;" both should be translated alike. L. 2/8, šuma la zakrat (zukkuru) can hardly mean: "had no existence."⁷

⁶ See also Cope Whitehouse article, in the *London Academy*, Feb. 22, 1890, p. 137; March 1, p. 156; reprinted with additional notes by Th. G. Pinches in *BOB.*, IV. 69-71. Whitehouse connects with this Babylonian word the Hebr. מִצְדָּה (2 Sam. VIII. 1) = *land, district*; and plur. מִצְדָּה (Is. VI. 4) = *foundations*. Pinches' article, *BOB.*, IV. 27-33, is quoted by Barton, l. c. 21; but why not made use of?

⁷ *Journal of the Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. XV., p. 1-27 (1891). Professor Barton prints transliteration and translation of these three tablets. He remarks on p. 1 that this whole article, *except* the transliterations and translations of tablets IV. and V. (l. e. 168 lines out of 183) was written before seeing Jensen's work, and independently of it. "In the translation of these tablets I am indebted to him for some suggestions," etc. Professor Barton, to whom I communicated my intention of writing an article, comparing the translations of some of the Creation-tablets, kindly sent me the following "corrigenda" to his *Tiamat*: p. 3, l. 14, omit (?) after "two-fold;" p. 6, l. 23 read "garment" instead of *dibba*; p. 12 notes l. 4. read "l. 14" instead of "l. 13;" p. 17, 3d line from the bottom read "apocryphal" instead of "apochryphal;" p. 21, l. 22 read עֲרֵךְ not עֲרֵךְ. These are all the corrections communicated to me by Barton (April 23, '92).

14. My own translation of this tablet is as follows: "Time was when what is above⁸ was not yet called heaven,⁹ the below, earth was not yet named¹⁰—the ocean, the primeval, their progenitor¹¹ [and] mūmu¹² Tiamat,¹³ the bearer of them all, their waters [still] were gathered together [i. e. there was one mass of water];—field was not yet harvested, yea not even dry-land¹⁴ was to be seen. Time was when none of the gods shone forth, not yet was any name called on [in worship], nor yet did any one determine the destiny. [At last] were created the gods....Laḥmu and Laḥamu¹⁵ then shone forth [were recognized and worshipped]. And they brought forth (generated)....AN-ŠAR (and) ANKIŠAR were created.... A long time elapsed....[ere] god Anu [Bel and Ea were made].¹⁶ AN-ŠAR and KI-ŠAR [created them?].

⁸eliš and šapliš I take as =ša ina eli and ša ina šapli. So also M. Jules Oppert.

⁹ša-ma-mu might be considered a plur. as šamū, heaven, as umāmu I R. 28, a plur. of ūmu wild animal; also see Professor Haupt, *Beiträge zur Assyrischen Lautlehre* (Gött. Gel. Nachr. 1883, 101, rem. 5); I prefer, however, to explain it with M. Jos. Halévy as a synonym of šamū. Cf. also Del. *Les.* 94, 16; 96, 7; I R. 52, 2b; 69, 22a and 54a; III R. 38, 19a; ZA. IV. 7, 1; 11, 42; 230, 14, etc.

¹⁰šuma may belong to nabū as well as to zakrat. As to its meaning I agree with Jensen's remarks (pp. 320-21) but do not see why he does not simply refer to Zimmern, *Busspealmen*, p. 67.

¹¹ll. 3-5 are a circumstantial, parenthetical clause. On za-ru-u (ilanī), see also Winckler, *Sargontexte*, 74, 434; 123, 161; zarū, of course, is = zarū (originally a triptote).

¹²mūmu: Jensen (p. 512) corrects his translation *confusion, chaos* (so first Jeremias, *Leben nach dem Tode*, 73), into *mother, lady* = bēltum. This translation was suggested long ago by M. Jos. Halévy, who interprets mu-um-mu as an abbreviation of um-um-mu = DM-DM = grand-mère, then also = progenetrix (*Revue des études juives*, X., 6-7; *Journal Asiatique*, 1885, Vol. V., 321).

¹³Jensen's combination of t(ī)šmtu = desert with 𐎶𐎶𐎶 was long ago proposed by Smith (see however, Delitzsch, *Chaldäische Genesis*, p. 297) and Stan. Guyard in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, I. 399 sq. Guyard, *ibid.*, rem. 1 considers Heb. 𐤔𐤕𐤔 a corruption from Babylonian mūmu. Any one studying mūmu Tiamat should necessarily be acquainted with M. Jos. Halévy's remarks in *Revue des études juives*, X., (19) 5 sq.; *Mélanges Graux*, 51-61; etc. The 𐎶𐎶𐎶 in Berosus has, of late, been explained by W. Robertson Smith (ZA. VI., 339). He says: "Let us write the corrupt form in Berosus in uncials ΘΑΛΛΑΤΘ, and the *ductus literarum* at once suggests the emendation ΘΑΜΤΕ = Θαμτε = Tāmtu." This correction, be it said, was long forestalled by Schrader's remarks, *KAT.* 1, 13, a fact which Professor Smith, who is not an Assyriologist, could easily overlook, but which should not be lost sight of by an Assyriologist.

¹⁴Çuçu, literally *plain, prairie*, Del. *Wörterbuch*, 414, 17 against Jensen, l. c. 326 sq.; also *BOR.*, IV., 27 sq., perhaps here in its original meaning of *dry land* as opposed to *water*, cf. Del. *Paradies*, 241; *KAT.* 1, 10.

¹⁵zukkuru. Schwally (*Stade's Zeitschrift*, XI., 176 sqq.) seems to have proved that the original meaning of zakaru was to *call on a god in worship* (im kulte anrufen). This was done by the man, not by the woman. Thus arose the meaning zikaru, zikru for *man*. The feminine forms are a later development.

¹⁶Smith's and Lenormant's emendation of Δαχῆ and Δαχός into Δάχη and Δάχορ, repeated again and again by almost every writer on fragment I, must not be overlooked by an Assyriologist. Less known is Lenormant's correction of Ἰλλανος into Ἰλλιμος = Elim = Bel.

¹⁷My completion of this line is based on Damascius' reading Ἄνος καὶ Ἰλλιμος καὶ Ἄος. Jensen and others are greatly puzzled over Damascius' Ἄος = Ea; they do not remember the fact that at that time Itacism flourished throughout and that no distinction was made in the pronunciation of A and E. Ἄος was written probably on account of the foregoing Ἄνος.

III.

The two longest fragments, containing parts of the Creation-story, belong to the fourth tablet.¹ The one is a fragment of an Assyrian tablet, forming the middle of the story (49 + 36 lines), and published by Delitzsch in his *Lesestücke*², 97-99, a corrected text of the *editio princeps* by Smith in *TSBA.* IV., 368, plate IV.; the other, from Borsippa, is part of a Babylonian tablet, published by Budge in the *PSBA.* X. (Dec. 1887) added to p. 86, (82-9-18, 3737; $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.; 43 + 32 lines). The two texts overlap, showing some interesting variant readings. Transliteration and translation, with commentary of *frag.* I. were published by H. Fox Talbot in *TSBA.* V. 1 sqq.; translation alone in *Rec. Past.* IX. 137 sqq.; Smith-Delitzsch *Chaldäische Genesis*, 90 sqq.; J. Oppert in Ledrain *Histoire d'Israël*, I. 418-21. Sayce translated both fragments in his *Hibbert Lectures* (1887) pp. 379-84 and in *Rec. Past*², I. 136-42. An excellent transliteration and translation, with commentary, is found in Jensen's *Kosmologie*, pp. 278-289; 326-46, and additions on pp. 512 sq. In no one part of his most interesting book has Jensen shown such learning and philological acumen, the only cause for complaint being that he did not sufficiently acknowledge "la paternité des interprétations." A year later, Professor Barton published another transliteration and rendering. The following remarks are confined chiefly to these last three contributions, with constant reference to the texts as published by Budge and Delitzsch.

OVERSE. 1. id-du-šum-ma rendered by S(ayce) as a singular, by J(ensen) —B(arton) as plural; J.'s translation is by far the best; parak rubutum can hardly mean *shrine of the mighty* (S.); nor *sanctuary of the great ones* (B.).—2. S. and J. ma-ḥa-ri-iš = maḥar; B. šu-ḥa-ri-iš *brilliantly*. While I agree with B.'s reading, I fail to see where he gets the idea of *brilliancy*; does he perhaps confound šaḥaru and šararu? Unless we assume with S. and J. a mistake of šu for ma (either on the part of the original scribe, something not very unusual, or on that of the editor), we must explain šuḥariš = ina šuḥari; this would be from šaḥaru = saḥaru, the two sibilants interchanging, especially in this verb; saḥaru = to surround, protect, watch; šaḥuru = ibšu = aburru *surrounding, protection*; šuḥariš = aburriš *safely, in safety*, II R. 42, 22.² I would,

¹ Nothing is known of tablet II. beyond the scant notice found in Del. *Wörterbuch*, 65; also of tablet III. very little has as yet been recovered and published in such shape that a critical study of its contents could be based upon it. Parts of the text are published by Delitzsch in his *Wörterbuch*, 100; S. A. Smith *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts*, 1-5, and by Pinches in *BOR.*, IV. 26 sqq. Transliteration and provisional translation by Pinches, *ibid.*; also Sayce, *Rec. Past*, I. 134-5; Jensen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 276-79. Part of the V. tablet is found in Del. *Lesestücke*², 94; treated by almost every Assyriologist since Geo. Smith, so that it is nigh impossible to make many mistakes. Barton's transliteration of ll. 1; 3; 6; 11; 17; 18; 19; and his translation of ll. 5, 6, etc., will hardly be accepted by most Assyriologists.

² Jensen has shown that in these Tiamat texts the termination -iš is equivalent to ina, ana or kima, e.g. šašmiš *to the fight* = ana šašmi; napšatuš *to life*; sapariš = ina sapari *into the net*. According to Jos. Halévy, this -iš is the same adverbial ending found in ṭabiš, which stands for an original ṭabišu = 'good for him'; also see Del. *Gram.*, § 80, 2, b, and § 130.

accordingly, translate l. 2: "under the protection of his father he dwelt (lived) in (his) kingdom.³—4. La šanān⁴ means *without rivalry* (S.-J.) not *unalterable* (B.); *unalterable* is ša lā enū (ענה)⁵—sikarka ilu Anum,⁶ B.'s *thy command is* (the command of) *Anu*, is preferable to that of J. *thy command is Anu*. On sikru, Barton may compare my remarks in *HEBRAICA*, VII. 84 rem. 6 and 7; his reference (p. 11) to Sargon *Cyl.* l. 49 (as-kir-ma) is quite unintelligible to me. Sayce's reading si-gar-ka *thy gift-day* is improbable and his reference to V R. 1. 12 quite unlucky in view of Jensen's remarks *ad locum* in *KB.* II. 154-5. —l. 6, B. omits -ka after sikar. The translation of ištu umīma (l. 7) by *from to-day* (J.) is much better than *from that day* (S.-B.); ki-bit-ka is *thy command* (S.-J.) not *thy word* (B.). B. reads correctly in-nin-na-a against Jensen's ināna, but J.-S.'s translation *change*⁷ is preferable to B.'s *resist*.—8a B. follows J. in translating šušķū u šušpulu by *to exalt and to humble* against S.'s *high and low*. 8b J. ši lū katka *be in thy hand* (from išu); B. šilū (שלח) katka *thy hand is stretched forth*; S. *entreat thy hand*. Jensen's reading and translation is by far the most acceptable.—9b lā sarār sikarka *may thy command not be resisted* (J.-B.); still better would it be to translate *be thy command not changed* (literally: *not twisted, turned*, Heb. שרר, Arab. سسر; cf. IV R. 1. 25a). S.'s *untroubled is thy gift-day* is entirely out of question.—10. i-duk-ka (S.-B.) *thy power* is very good; i-bak-ka (J.) extremely improbable.⁸—11. zananutum ir-mat (J. -šad, S.-B.) *parak ilani-ma*. J. does not translate *irmat*, B. has *an ornament (?) has been established (?)*. Where S. gets his *shrine of the god of the sky* (literally, *nalbaš šamē*), I fail to see. I am almost inclined to consider *ir-* a mistake either of the scribe or of Budge for *mal-* both characters being very much alike in Babylonian; we should then have to read *zananutum mallat* etc. = (with) *decorations is filled the shrine of the gods*.—15 Zimmern's translation (Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 513) *when thou art in the assembly of the gods* (cf. also Stade's *Zeitschrift*, XI., 159 sqq.) *may thy will prevail against all*, must at once be accepted against S. and B.—16. read kakki (not ku, B.)-ka and na-ki (not ku, B.) -rika.—l. 17 sqq. Nowhere does B. indicate whether the syllable bi (e. g. bi-lum) is written with the character bi, kaš, kaš, or with be, bad, mid, til, ziz, etc.; he also transcribes alike the syllables, usually written ti and te (or tī), so that in many cases it would be nigh im-

³ Cf. e. g. I R. 35, No. 2, malkūt lā šanān; V R. 35.12, ana malikutim kullatu nap-har.

⁴ I R. 35.2; šarrūt lā šanān, Winckler, *Kellschrifttexte Sargons I.*, 16, 4; emuķān la šanān, *Ibid.* 191 Δ 7; Tigl.-Pileser, I. 29; Del., *Kossler*, 9, rem. 5; ZA. II. 309, 10.

⁵ kēnat amatsu lā e-na-at ki-bit-su, Del., *Leest.* 93, 23; cf. St. Guyard, *Notes de lexicographie Assyrienne*, (1883), § 52.

⁶ B. writes ILU A-num (original text reads nim !), but he should either write ilu or AN. Beginners will receive the impression that ilu were an Akkadian word.

⁷ See, above, l. 2 and V R. 64. 81, α = lā in-nin-nu-u||lā utakkaru.

⁸ B. omits an after ma-am-ma, the word is l. 10; ma-am-ma-an (ina ilani) etc.

possible to reproduce the cuneiform characters after his transcription.⁹—17. translate *spare his life* (gimil napīštašū); B.'s *avenge the life of him* is without foundation.—18. J.-B. read ušzizuma i-bi-ri-šunu lu-ba-šu iš-tin. J. *They clothed their companion(?) with a garment*; B. follows him, but does not translate i-bi-ri. S.'s translation *then they set in their midst his saying unique*, presupposes a reading ina bi-ri-šunu dib-ba ištīn. S. must have had cause for reading ina, and I prefer his reading, until better proof against it is adduced. I also agree with Sayce in reading dibba and translate (*his*) *word (command) they set up in their midst as unique i. e. all important*.—21. read ši-kin (Zimmern, not -mat, S.-B.) and translate: *thy work be greater (more important) than that of the (other) gods*,—22b. *and it shall be done*, (J., not *let it be done*, B.) Sayce's rendering, *may he confirm the destruction and creation of all that is said* is out of question.—23. ep-ša pīka set thy mouth (S.-B.); I wonder how many will understand this; translate *open thy mouth*; li-'i-a-bit (not bat! B.) dibbašū *and his (perhaps "thine enemy's") word shall vanish away (be made powerless)*.—24. tu-ur ki-bi-šum-ma dib-ba-šu li-iš-lim *speak again to him*¹⁰ *and his word shall be restored*; J.-B. read lu-ba-šu li-iš-ši *turn, speak to it, let the garment be restored*. I fail to see why "a garment" should be brought in.—25. iḫbima (not iḫbima B. nor iḫbi, J.); 'i (not i, B.)-a-bit,¹¹ *he spake and in his mouth (i. e. that of the god who doth evil) was destroyed his (power of) speech*.—26. *again he spake unto him and his speech was restored to him* (literally "created")¹²....—27. kīma gīt pīšu imuru ilani abēšū; J.-B.'s translation *when the gods his fathers saw the effect of his word* is certainly better than that of S.¹³—28. translate with J. *they greeted him: Marduk be king*.—33. ša bēli šimatuš is the fate of the lord (Merodach) not of Bel (B.) still less of Ea (S.); also cf. l. 65 and Rev. l. 12. Barton's a-bi-i-šu should be ab-bi-e-šu.—35. kakkašū uaddi means *he took it for his weapon* (J.) not *his weapon he added* (B.). 36. ukinḡu ba-aṭ-nu *he fixed its seat* (S.); *he placed it* (on his) *stomach(?)* (B.); J. more cautiously omits translation of baṭnu.—38. B. omits Su=mašak before išpatum (see *PSBA.* l. c.) and reads il-lu-ul; but *PSBA.* reads i-lu-ul; Delitzsch, i-lul. On ll. 38 and 51 Stan. Guyard, *loc. cit.*, § 66, should still be consulted.—Ll. 39-40. Jensen's *he made a lightning go*

⁹ In notice e. g. ab-bi-i-šu (27, etc.), taš-mī-i (34); i-pu-uš (41); uš-ti-iḡ-bi-ta (42), a-ḡ-i (42), mi-ḡa-a (45); u-ši-ḡa-am-ma (47); šū (not su') -mī-la (56), uš-ti-sir-ma (59), i-ta-mi-iḡ, i-ši-'i (66), i-ši (67), ṭi-ma (68) and many more where he should have read ab-bi-e-šu, taš-mi-e, epuš, etc., to indicate the different characters; especially noteworthy are l. 67 where eši and l. 70 where iši are both written iši. Texts, of which the original is not so accessible, as is the case here, should always be transcribed in such a way, that any student, knowing his Assyrian characters, will be able to reproduce exactly the original text.

¹⁰ Literally *turn and speak to him*.

¹¹ On the other hand, l. 30 read za-a-a-ri not za-'a-a-ri as B. does.

¹² Jensen reads i-tur iḫbišūma *come, return! he said to it*.

¹³ *Like (the word) that issues from his mouth the gods his fathers saw it*.

before him, with a destructive (fierce) wrath he filled his bowels, is by far better than B.'s he placed his lightning in his (Kingu's) face. (With) swift destruction he filled his (Kingu's) body.¹⁴—41. Read *šul-mu-u not šul-mu* (B.). It is interesting to note that PSBA. has *kir-bi-iš Tam-tim* (Delitzsch *kir-biš Ti-amat*), which J. translates by *Mittlings-Tiamat*, B. *host of Tiamat*; S. *the dragon of the sea*.—42. B.'s *nim-mi-ša* is wrong for *mim-mi-ša*.¹⁵—44. I prefer to translate with Jensen: *he brought to her side the net, the present of his father Anu*. B. follows S. in rendering 44.a *his hand brought near*, and S. translates *kišti* by *the bow*, remarking that we have here a curiously weakened form *kisti* instead of *kašti*.—45. B. reads correctly *im-ḥul-la*, but on Rev. ll. 13 and 15 he has *šāru ḥulla*, where he ought also to read *im-ḥul-lu*; then continue l. 45, *šāra lim-na me-ḥa-a a-šam-šu-tum* against B.'s *šara limna mi-ḥa-a A-U-ŠU-TUM*. Fifteen years ago, people used to read *a-u-šu-tum*; since then, every Assyriologist reads *a-šam-šu-tum* = *ašamšatum* for *aššašutu* from *ašašu be sad, troubled*.¹⁶—46. The sign unknown to Barton is known since Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, 71, above. B. has read page 70 of Zimmern's book (p. 12 of "Tiamat"). The sign is read either (*šāru*) *daliḥu* or *eši* = *a destructive wind*. The character is formed by a double *gu* and read *gu-gu*, which is none else than the *kuḫu* (Heb. קוק) of Deluge l. 83 = *darkness*; the character is thus of good Assyrian origin, by no means Akkadian; *šāru la šanān* is not *a ceaseless wind* (S.-B.), but *a wind whose equal does not exist*.—50. *narkabtu ši-kin* (!Jensen) *la maḥri ga-lit-ta irkab*, J. *he mounted the chariot, something unequalled, the terrible*.¹⁷—51.a I prefer to read with Barton *iḡ-mid-sim-ma*¹⁸ *he harnessed it*, against Jensen's *iz-ziz-zim-ma* *he stood firm* (upon it).—52.a. read *kakku(?) lā pa-du-u ra-ḥi-ḡu* (not *iḡ*, B.).—54b. *sa-pa-na* (not *nu*, as B.) *lamdu* (= *permansive of lamadu*) *they know how to overthrow*; so with J., against *he cast down understanding* (B.) or *they sweep away the learned* (S.).—60. *translate to the place of Tiamat* (*ašriš Tiamat*) *he turned* (his face), not *humbly he set the...before him* (S.), nor *straightway Tiamat...he set before his face* (B.).—61. I would suggest to read *ina šap-ti [ša]...u-ka-l-la* (= *uḫāla*) from קול, *kaļu*

¹⁴ *iškun birḫu ina panišu, nablu muštaḥmiṭu zumuršu um-ta-al-la* (var. *tal-li*).

¹⁵ PSBA. has the variant *mi-im-mi-ša*.

¹⁶ There are several words *ašašu*, meaning: 1. *to fortify* (ששן), *uššiš* for *u'aššiš*, I founded (I R. 68, 1; Del. Gram., § 104, II.). 2. *nest of a bird* (cf. *uššušu*, II R. 22, 5, e) *adattu*, *ušaštum* and *hišu*; also = *dwelling, habitation*, *ālu*, *dadmu*. 3. *moth* V R. 41, 7 gh; Aram. שש. 4. *be sad, troubled*; Aram. ששן, Del. Gram., § 102, whence our *ašamša*- (or *šu*)-*tu* *hurricane, storm, trouble*, *šaḫummatu*, *šaḫarratu*, *tešū*.

¹⁷ Much better than *the fiery chariot* (B.) or *he rode in a chariot of destiny that retreats without a rival* (S.).

¹⁸ Cf. *ḡamadu ša narkabti*, II R. 27, 24, ab.

to make a noise, cry out = she cried aloud (with her lips); also in l. 72 I am inclined to read *ina šaptiša lul-la-a u-kāl sarrāti* with her lips she cried out *lullā sarrāti* = an abundance of evil.¹⁹ B. follows S. in rendering with her hostile lip she contended opposition.—62. *rit-tuš-šu* (B.) incorrect for *laḫ-tuš-šu*.—63f. read *iṭullu* and *iṭhema* not *ittullu* and *iṭhima*. Sayce translates *the gods exalted him*, no doubt reading *i-dul-lu* (ללל).²⁰—67. *inaṭalma e-ši malâkšu* he saw and confounded was his reason (literally "his way"). Barton's reading *i-ši* misled him into considering this form a preterite of *še'u*; but I can not understand why he translates *she beheld and saw his way*. S. *she looks also for his counsel*.—68. *sapiḥ temašu-ma siḥati epšitsu*. Jensen's rendering²¹ is far better than B.'s *captured was his plan*, while S.'s *then the rebellious one* (Tiamat) *appointed him*²² *the overthrower of the command of Bel*, is entirely out of question. Reverse, l. 23 we read *ḫigriša uptarrira puḥurša issapha* her host was broken up, her throng he scattered (or as Nifal was scattered).²³ Based on this line I would suggest for l. 73 the following reading: *bat-ta[ka ḫiḡ]ru-ša belum ilani ti-bu-ka* (permansive): *Around thee, o Lord of the gods, cometh her host*, and l. 74 perhaps *[puḥ-ru-uš]-šu-un*; *ip-ḥu-ru-šu-nu aš-ruk-ka* their throng they gather where thou art²⁴ (so Sayce correctly). Where B. gets his rendering *to their* (I) *place*, I fail to see.—75a. we must, of course, supply with J. *iš-ši-ma* but the lord lifted up the *abūbu*, his mighty weapon.—76. *[ana kirbiš]*²⁵ Tiamat against Tiamat, on whom he takes vengeance he hurled it (the *abūbu*) saying thus (*kiām*)—l. 77a. are perhaps four signs wanting; one might tentatively supply *[kī-ma ša lib]-ba-a-ti*²⁶ *e-liš na-ša-ti* as thou didst excite dissensions (i. e. rebellion) on high.—78 read with Jensen (literally "excite resistance"). The following lines are too mutilated to allow a ... *[lib]-ba-ki-ma*²⁷ *di-kī a-na-an-[tum]* gather courage and give resistance connected translation.—L. 80. we may read *ta-zi-ri* thou didst hate, זיר; 81.

¹⁹ *lulla* as well as *lalū* and *lilēnu* are reduplicated forms of the stem ללל be strong, abundant; see *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, I. 479, rem. 1.

²⁰ 68b, is too difficult to admit any satisfactory translation and explanation.

²¹ *Sein Verstand ward zersprengt und sein Tun verworren*.

²² Reading *ip-ḫid* for *ep-šit*.

²³ See, however, Lehmann, *Šamašsumukīn*, II., 42.

²⁴ Literally to thy place, *ašruk-ka* = *ina aš-ri-ka*.

²⁵ So Jensen.

²⁶ *libbatu*, pl. *libbāti* anger, wrath, rebellion; cf. V R. 7, 26, *ina ma-li-e lib-ba-a-ti in the fulness of my anger*; ZA. V. 138, 15 = *Journal asiatique*, XVI. (1890) 819, 15; Deluge, 182 *iteziz ilu Bēl lib-ba-ti im-ta-li ša ilani Igigi* Bel was wroth and anger filled (his heart) against the Igigi. HEBRAICA, I. 176; Del., *Wörterbuch*, 250; 254, 3; *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, I. 181 and Deluge, 110. The noun is derived from *lababu* be excited, cf. Song of Sol. iv. 9, and *Deutsche Literatur-zeitung*, 1888, col. 1282; also cf. *nalbubu*.

²⁷ Before *libbaki* one might supply *bi-i-li* (imperative of *abalu*) cf. Haupt, *ASKT.* 76, 8. Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, 47; Haupt, *ZK.* II. 233 and *Andover Review*, (July, 1884) p. 93, rem. 6. *libbi abalu* = *animum inducit* (a mere formula not needing a preposition, Müller, ZA. I. 353 ad I R. 17, 88) = *abalu kabattu* (Deluge, 18) = *uštabbil karassu* (karšu), Haupt, *KAT.*, 501.

ana ha-'i-ru[ka] to thy husband; 82. ana pa-ra-aç AN an (var. a) -nu-ti against the command of the godhead; 83 [lim-ni]-a-ti te-še'i-i-ma evil things thou didst seek after.

REVERSE.—1. I would suggest to supply [ki-a-am] or [ki-ša ana], etc. As thou didst direct thy evil deed against my fathers.—2. with J. therefore may be tied down thy army, and thy weapons may they be bound (i. e. made harmless).—3. šaš-ma fight would not be queried by an Assyriologist acquainted with Lotz, *Tiglath-pileser*, I., p. 84; Stan. Guyard, *Notes*, § 31; *ZK.* II. 390; *ZA.* I. 51; IV. 227 (*K.* 3216, 8); it is || taḥazu and tuḫuntu.—L 5. read maḥ-ḫu-tiṣ i-te-mi u-ša-an-ni ti-en-ša²⁸ she considered herself defeated and lost her balance of mind. maḥḫutu defeat; maḥḫutiṣ emi illika, he was considered as defeated. See my remarks in *HEBRAICA*, VII. 100, 101 and rem. 33, *ibid.* S. she uttered her former spells. Cf. Haupt's remarks in *HEBRAICA*, I. 220 on ušanni tenša she changed her plan.²⁹—6. B. might have adopted J.'s correction of e-lita into e-li-iš.—7. šuršiš malmališ itṛura išdāša, B. from its base completely trembled (itṛura, 𐎶𐎶𐎵) her seat. What does this really mean? Sayce is no clearer from its roots she strengthened her seat completely. Completely her inside burst into two parts, is the translation of Del. *Wörterbuch*, 223-24; 368, 2; *Gram.*, § 219, 8b, which I prefer to that of Jensen.³⁰—L 8. The meaning of ta-a is not known to Barton.³² Cf. Lotz *Tiglath-pileser*, 97-8; Haupt *Akkadische Sprache*, XXXII.; *ZK.*, I. 320; Del.-Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, 117 (*beg.*) = šiptu; *ZA.*, III. 305 (*med.*).—9. uša'alušunu kakkešunu they appealed to their weapons, i. e. "they made their weapons appeal to the gods of battle;" see my remarks in *HEBRAICA*, VII. 60, and the literature given there.—10. Barton's *Tiamat attacked* is from Sayce. Jensen much better then approached each other.—11. šašmiš = ana šašmi for the fight; no query is needed. Jensen's reading iṭ-lu-pu (S.-B. it-tib-bu) is excellent (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵), they stormed, rushed against one another; taḥaziš does not mean furiously (B.) but is = ana taḥazi to the fight.—Ll. 13 14. I agree with S., whom B. follows in rendering an evil wind, to seize her from behind, he let loose before him; then opened her mouth Tiamat to crush it (i. e. "to swallow the evil wind").—16. the strong winds karšaša izanuma does not mean tortured her stomach (B. after S.) but

²⁸ Barton muḥ-ḫu-tiṣ i-ti-mi uš-a-an-ni ti-in-ša.

²⁹ Also *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, I. 163 rem. 3.

³⁰ Von unten auf gerade durch fiel zusammen ihr fester Grund.

³² We have in Assyrian at least three nouns tū: 1. Incantation from the verb atū, utū, 𐎶𐎶𐎵, see Del. *Levest.* 95 d) 18 l. 19; IV R. 7, 45. a; 22, 12-13; V R. 53, 74; 65, 20. b. According to Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 362, the Assyrian is borrowed from the Akkadian; while Sayce (*ZA.* V. 284) believes that there was in the Mitanni language a word tea or tiya: word. 2. Room, Zimmern, l. c. 117 = Hebr. 𐤕𐤕; Delitzsch in Bär, *Ezechiel* XVI. (*del.*); Del. *Levest.*, 188 s. v. 𐎶𐎶𐎵. || nimeḫ; cf. perhaps II R. 38. l. ab, te-e kab-ri. Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 303, reads III R. (4) No. 7, ti ti'amat sea-shore. 3. meal, victuals, Zimmern, l. c., ad p. 43; Deluge, 195 and 207 ta-a amel; V R. 28. 84. e-f ta-a (var. 'a)-u = a-ka[lu]; fem. te'atūm, II R. 48. 46. h. *ZK.* I. 134 rem. 1, etc.

filled it; so first Guyard, *Notes*, § 87 whom Jensen, p. 338, might have quoted.—17. read in-ni-kud³³ libbaša *her heart sank, i. e. "she lost courage"* (S.), not *her waist was seized* (B.); continue wide opened he her mouth.—18. izzuḫ (not issuk he set, B.) he grasped, from nazaḫu to grasp, on which see HEBRAICA, VII. 90, rem. 17 e; iḫtepi karassa he split (not mutilated, B. following S.) her stomach.—19. u-šal-liṭ libba does not mean: he mastered (her) heart (so B. after S.) but he cut out (her) heart.³⁴—26. u-še-ḡu-ma nap-ša-tuš e-ṭi-ru. Jensen's translation, he let them escape and spared their life, will be accepted by all Semitists against B.'s, they carried her (Tiamat) out alive, they escaped.—28. read e-sir-šunuti he approached them.—30. begin ga-du, cf. l. 35, = and, along with; then continue tub-ka-a-ti the regions (i. e., the world).—31. še-rit-su³⁵ na-šu-u = they bore his punishment; kalu-u ki-šuk-kiš³⁶ they were kept in prison (bondage). B. his kišuk was finished. J. refers to V R. 47. 56, a, but does not offer a translation.—32, b, šu-ud(!) pul-ḥa-ti i-za-nu, B. with a work (reading šupir) of fear they were troubled; translate they were filled with fear.—34. it-ta (-ad, so Budge) -di ḡir-ri-e-ti i-di-šu-nu he put their hands in bonds (literally, ropes), so with Jensen, p. 165, against B. he laid their hands prostrate, and S. his hand lays blindness (on their eyes).—35. gadu tuḫmatišunu šapalšu ikbus, B.'s together with their battles beneath himself he trod, is to be corrected according to S. and J.—L. 43. read ḡardu not ḡurdu (B.).—45. ḡiriš Tiamat does not mean like a serpent, Tiamat (B.), but toward Tiamat.—46. read i-šid-sa with J. (cf. *Rev.* l. 7) and S. against B.'s i-rit-sa.—47. I would not be surprised if a new collation of the text would yield lā pa- (not maš) du-u; instead of muḫḫi (B.) read muḫḫa (Budge).—49. uštābil not he bore (B.), but he caused to bear (J.).—50. i-mu-ru-ma p-pu (! J., not ab-bu)-šu uḫ-du (not ḡa-) u he saw it and his face rejoiced, not his fathers saw it, as B., following S., who also translates i-ri-šu at the savour instead of he gloried.—51. šī-di-e S. the spirits (?), J.-B. correctly a present.—52. inuḫma bēlum šalamtuš ibarri the Lord quited down, he saw her (Tiamat's) corpse (J.). S. (followed by B.) so the Lord rested, his body he feeds

³³ See Lyon, *Manual*. nakadu, II R. 25, 73; V R. 16, 77. ed; V R. 7, 31. ikkud libbašu iršā nakuttu; akkud aršā nikitti I became afraid, fright seized me (KB. III. 2, 90, 27); akkud nakutti aršā V R. 64, 36. a; also *ibid.*, 53. b; and 65, 23. a; K 128, 5 murḡu nakdu (for nakidu) a frightening disease.

³⁴ Cf. Zimmermann, *Busspsalmen*, 103, rem. 1; Praetorius, *ZDMG*, 32, 21 sqq.; ušallit = iḫtaḡḡi; also ZK. I 802; II 22-23 and note 4 (*ibid.*); || bataḡu II R. 39, 14. ḡh.

³⁵ šertu, sin and punishment for sin, cf. Zimmermann, *Busspsalmen*, 95 and 115; ZK. II 21-22, Syr. שרעָתָא.

³⁶ kišukku = kilum (Hebr. כִּלּוּם). V R. 47. 56. a. we read bit kilu = bit ki-šuk ḡa-ni; ina ki-li, KB. II. 268, 81 = בֵּית כִּלּוּם. Delitzsch, *Hebrew and Assyrian*, 20, 4; Peiser, *Babylonische Verträge des Berliner Museums* (Berlin, 1890). Cf. 8 mentions ki-iš-ki siparri. Connected with kišukku may also have been kiškitti elippi, Del., *Lesest.* 88, VI. 31, a part of the ship, perhaps "the prison cell." Pinches, *BOR.* l. 42 explains it as "perhaps the ribs of a ship"; also the kiš-kit-te-e of Gilgameš-Nimrod may belong to this noun, in the meaning of slaves, prisoners.

(while B. then her body he dragged).—53. J. and B. read šir-ku b(p)u uzāzu ibannā niklāti, translated by J.and he performed wonderful deeds; B. (his) advance (?) he strengthened, he forms cunning (plans), while S. makes it he strengthens his mind, he forms a clever plan; ibannā niklāti is best translated as J. does; the beginning of the line might be read šir ku-pu uzāzu the foul (rotten) flesh he tore away.—54. Unless Budge's publication of the text is wrong, we cannot read with S. and B. maš-ki-e (her) skin; 54, b, can hardly be read ana nik-la-a-ti-šu (S. and B.) but rather ana šina šu (J.) in (his) two halves (?).—55. B. follows S. with her likeness, which he prepared, he overshadowed the heavens, but mišlušša iškunamma šamama uḡallil means half of her he stood up, and made it overshadow the heavens.—Ll. 58-9 B. follows S. pretty closely, but Jensen's translation is far better.—60. imšuhma bēlum ša zu-ab-bi³⁷ nutuššu then the Lord of the deep measured off its circuit (i. e., of the primeval sea); so with J. against S. the Lord measured the offspring of the deep or B. the Lord established bounds to the destructiveness (?) of the deep.—62. B. omits to translate ša-ma-mu which he had built as a heaven.—63. read ma-ḥa (not ka, B.) -zi-šun.....

³⁷ zu-ab-bi; this and other passages show that zu-ab-bu is a good Semitic noun; that ZU-AB is not to be read apsū.

³⁸ nutu, according to Jensen, from a verb natū or nātu, whence also ni-i-tu (V R. 17, 51-2. d) enclosure. ni-i-tu (or -ta) lamū occurs often; ni-it ru-'ti hurdle or fold for the cattle. Lyon, *Manual*, 122 derives all from 𒌶𒌵 in which he is followed by Lehmann, Šamaš-šumukin I. 138; Del., *Gram.* § 114, p. 313 𒌶𒌵, cf. Hebr. 𐤒𐤕 and 𐤒𐤕𐤔.

THE LETTERS OF ABDIHEBA.

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Through Dr. Zimmern's translations* of the five el-Amarna tablets addressed by Abdiheba the Governor of Jerusalem to Amenophis III., a satisfactory basis has been secured for the historical utilization of these precious documents, while the copious notes which Zimmern adds to his translations, besides their avowed object of forming the justification for his renderings, contain material of inestimable value in the philological study of the el-Amarna correspondence in general. In addition to Dr. Zimmern's translations, we now have those of the distinguished French savant, Joseph Halévy, who, in the course of his valuable and suggestive series of articles covering the entire correspondence,† reaches the five tablets in question in the Nov.-Dec. number, 1891, of the *Journal Asiatique*, (pp. 517-531); and also the interpretations of Prof. Sayce‡ which however, while containing some ingenious suggestions are not sufficiently accurate to be of much service in a close study of the texts.

Comparing the translations of Zimmern and Halévy, it will be found that while there is substantial agreement in the interpretations, still the points of divergence are sufficient to warrant further study; and both Zimmern and Halévy will, I am sure, be glad to welcome suggestions and corrections that are offered in the hope of contributing to the understanding of the important events referred to in the tablets. Before legitimate conclusions as to the political and social status of Palestine during the 15th century before this era may be drawn from these tablets and others bearing upon them, it is essential to clear up as many obscurities as possible in the language of the tablets and no less essential to recognize the limits of our present knowledge. Supplementing my own studies of these tablets by a comparison with Zimmern's and Halévy's translations, I accordingly offer an analysis of their contents which will, I trust, be found to mark an advance in the interpretation of the political events, underlying the correspondence; and incidental to the analysis, I shall discuss points and questions raised by the letters. Taking up the latter in the

* *Die Keilschriftbriefe aus Jerusalem*, *Zeit. f. Assy.* VI. pp. 245-283.

† *La Correspondance d'Amenophis III. et d'Amenophis IV. transcrite et traduite*, (*Journal Asiatique*, 1890-1892, and *Revue Sémitique*, Vol. I.). [See now also Halévy's article on Abdiheba in the *Revue Sémitique*, Vol. I., pp. 13-24.]

‡ *Records of the Past* (new series), Vol. V. pp. 66-76.

order as published by Messrs. Winckler and Abel in Vol. II. of their splendid edition of the Berlin and Bulaq portion of the remarkable find,* I begin with

No. 102.

A general criticism to be offered on Zimmern's translations is that while bent upon furnishing a literal rendition, he fails to give an adequate view of the continuity in the syntactical constructions of the text; and as a consequence he does not always grasp the full force of the situation portrayed. Thus, immediately after the introductory phrases, it is clear as Halévy proposes that the 5th and 6th lines must be taken together as follows: "What have I done against the king my lord that they should slander me in the presence of the king my lord?"

Again, lines 14-16 belong together, thus, "Why should I therefore do wrong to the king my lord as long as the king my lord lives?" Zimmern, by breaking the sentence at line 15, misses the point which consists in Abdiheba's protestation of his gratitude towards his Egyptian master to whom he owes his exalted position.

For what follows the construction demands that lines 17-24 be regarded as a single paragraph. The first *aḳâbi* (l. 17) is here used in a conditional sense "if I say"—the present tense in Assyrian having this force precisely as the German "spreche ich"—and the second *aḳâbi* (l. 23) preceded by *ênuma* i. e. "and when I say" introduces the alternative clause. The paragraph must therefore be rendered as follows: "If I say to the messenger of the king my lord (i. e. if I say to the king through the messenger) Why do you show favor to the *Habiri* and oppose the governors (meaning himself) they calumniate me before the king my lord and when I say the provinces of the king my lord are going to ruin, they persist in calumniating me before the king my lord." Abdiheba refers to messages that in previous letters he has sent to Amenophis, but which were used to throw discredit upon him. His protestations of good faith were unheeded and his statements as to the condition of the provinces under his control called into question. The double use of *aḳâbi* with the repetition of the phrase "they calumniate" makes Abdiheba's appeal very forcible. He declares that no matter what he says, his enemies gaining the ear of the king prejudice the latter against him. After this introduction, which is naught but a petition to the king to have confidence and faith in his governor, Abdiheba proceeds to set forth what has happened since the king sent garrisons into the district of Abdiheba—probably in response to the latter's request. Unfortunately at this point the tablet is broken, and it is only a conjecture, though supported by a few words to be read in the succeeding lines that Abdiheba complains of the troops which were taken away by a certain *Yanhamu* and therefore proved of no help to him.

* *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*; 3 vols., Berlin, 1889-90. Zimmern having given a transliteration of these letters, it is needless to do so again unless based on a renewed examination of the originals.

Lines 34-35 are most happily restored by Zimmern and he is unquestionably right as against Halévy in beginning a new sentence with *paṭarat*, the subject of which is the following *alâni*. Parallel to the repetition of the phrases above noted, we find in this paragraph for the sake of greater emphasis, the phrase *liskin šarru [bêlu] ana matišu* twice used, in each case as a conclusion to certain circumstances set forth. "There are no troops," says Abdiheba, "therefore let the king have a lookout for his province;" and again "the cities of the king my lord are cut loose from allegiance inasmuch as Ilmilku has ruined the entire province of the king; therefore let the king my lord have a lookout for his province."

Line 35 *aḳâbi* is again to be taken in a conditional sense. "Were I to say" namely, as above, to the messenger of the king, "I am going to enter into the presence of the king my lord." We are not to suppose, however, that Abdiheba puts the hypothetical case of his voluntarily deciding to proceed to Egypt for the purpose of an interview with Amenophis. The paragraph beginning with l. 35 and extending to l. 46 evidently contains the governor's reply to a demand made by Amenophis, asking Abdiheba to present himself at the Egyptian court in order to give an account of his doings. Viewed in this light l. 40b-41a can only be a supplementary phrase to the foregoing. Halévy's proposition to read the word at the beginning of l. 41 *alâni-MEŠ* and render "cities," though ingenious is out of the question; but hardly more satisfactory is it to assume that Abdiheba should say that he will "see the tears" of the king. Recognizing this, Dr. Zimmern (in a private communication) raises the question whether we are not simply to read *ênâ* under the assumption of a superfluous use of the plural sign which is not at all surprising in the el-Amarna texts.* It seems to me beyond doubt, whether a reference to the original bears out this reading or not, that Zimmern has hit the correct sense. I would therefore render "Were I to say (etc. to the messenger) I am ready to go to the king my lord in order to see the countenance of the king my lord, there is the strong hostility towards me (preventing me) so that I am unable to come to the king my lord." Abdiheba declares that the hostile state of the country hinders him from obeying the order of Amenophis. Therefore, he continues, "may it seem pleasing to the king my lord to send garrison troops so that I may come into the presence of the king my lord." Note again the characteristic redundancy of expression, introduced as in the former instances for the sake of greater emphasis. The construction of the following paragraph is not altogether clear, due in part to the defectiveness of l. 48. The essential part of the paragraph which extends to l. 56 consists in the declaration following upon

* For irregularities of this kind, see Bezold, *The Tell-el-Amarna Tablets of the British Museum*, p. xiv.

aḳâbi; what precedes is introductory thereto. The temptation is strong to take the two phrases beginning with ênuma in parallelism with one another and bearing in mind the extended significance of the stem âṣu, particularly in Hebrew,* it is not impossible that it should be synonymous with balātu. In that case the two phrases would express a pious wish for the life of the king and the safety of the royal messenger, or, as Zimmern would have it, messengers. Still, the use of ênuma argues against such a supposition; and it seems more satisfactory to take the first ênuma as expressive of a purpose (corresponding to the Arabic ^{٤٥}أَنْ) and the second in the ordinary temporal or conditional sense (corresponding to Arabic ^{٤٦}إِنْ). I would, therefore, render "And it is in order that the king may live that when the messenger of the king sets forth, I say, etc." In justification for my proposition to fill up l. 48 by reading rabiṣ ṣarri bēli instead of Zimmern's conjecture rabiṣeṣu, I would point to l. 17 of the obverse. In both passages, Abdiheba has in mind the messenger through whom he communicates with the king. The u at the end of ittazu may simply be the overlapping vowel, or one of those inaccuracies with which these letters abound. Continuing, I would propose to take l. 50 la taṣamīu ana iaṣi as a kind of Hal construction, to be joined to mâtāti as follows: "gone are the lands of the king my lord, no longer hearkening unto me [i. e. rebellious]," and precisely as in the three instances above noted, Abdiheba solemnly repeats "gone are all the governors, so that there is not any governor [left] to the king my lord." "Therefore," he continues, "let the king direct his countenance to the troops† that he may send on the troops of the king my lord [since] there are no longer any lands [left] to the king; the Habiri having plundered all the lands of the king." The style, it will be noticed, increases in redundancy as the writer proceeds.

The letter proper concludes with a sharp alternative "If troops are forthcoming within the present year, the provinces can still be saved; if not, they are hopelessly lost." There follows an interesting subscript in the form of an order addressed by Abdiheba to the royal scribe, who, in this case, may be identical with the messenger who forwards the letter. The point is of importance as illustrating the relations existing between Amenophis and Abdiheba besides throwing light upon the employment of the Babylonian language and script as the medium of communication. Abdiheba, a native of Palestine, probably does not employ a scribe of his own but uses one furnished by his Egyptian master. The identity of the scribe with the messenger, moreover, would indicate that it was at the Egyptian court where the language and script of Babylonia was acquired—a fact which

* Note for Biblical Hebrew the use of נָצַח in the sense of free, safe, as e. g. 1 Sam. xiv. 41 further developed in Post-biblical Hebrew where the verb becomes a technical term for being "free from an obligation."

† pīdāte. See Dr. W. Mueller's note, ZA. VII. p. 64.

is borne out by the study tablet found in the el-Amarna collection and which accounts for the peculiar form of the script in these letters. Moreover it follows from the use of such terms as *pidāte* and *v'eu* ("officer")—Egyptian words as Erman and Mueller have shown—that the scribe and messenger was acquainted with Egyptian, but this in itself does not settle his nationality. That the writer was not a Babylonian is shown by the artificial manner in which he handles the language, both as far as the writing itself is concerned (e. g. in placing the dual sign before the ideogram to which it belongs instead of after it) and the style itself which, apart from its awkwardness, is defective in the use of prepositions and full of constructions that must have shocked a Babylonian. Again, these faulty constructions, as well as some words occurring in the letters, are traceable to Hebrew or Aramaic influences, so that the question as to the nationality of the scribe and messenger finally hinges upon the further question whether these faulty constructions and introduction of foreign terms are due to Abdiheba or to the scribe. Even supposing the former to have dictated the letter in Babylonian and in the form in which the letters lie before us, it is still necessary to assume that the scribe was also acquainted with Hebrew, since some of his mistakes in the writing of words could only have been made by one who while writing Babylonian was thinking in Hebrew. The conclusion, therefore, seems to be justified, pending any evidence to the contrary, that the scribe had acquired his knowledge of Babylonian at the Egyptian court, while his mother tongue was Hebrew, or, more accurately speaking, that dialect of Hebrew current in Palestine at the time and which, as will be shown later on, has a decidedly Aramaic tinge. Who, indeed, could be better fitted to act as a go-between for Amenophis and Abdiheba than a native Palestinian in the employ of the Egyptian court? It is natural to suppose, moreover, that the long-continued supremacy of Egypt over Palestine, together with the close relations that in consequence existed between the two countries, should have resulted in providing a regular training in Egypt for such Palestinian natives as enlisted in the international service.

Coming back to the colophon we find that it enjoins upon the scribe to transmit to the king in clear terms the message of Abdiheba, and by way of a summary adds as the kernel of the letter "all the lands of the king my lord are going to ruin." This method of summing up is characteristic of Abdiheba's letters and is found in all of them. Thus in Nos. 104 and 105 we find the same order given, and it is probable that it is to be supplied also for Nos. 103 and 106. In the latter, the essence of the letter is summed up in the advice that the king have a look out for his land; in Nos. 104 and 105, Abdiheba closes with a renewed protestation of his fidelity to the king which the letters are intended to illustrate and to prove.

Viewing the letter under consideration as a whole, we find that it consists of eleven distinct paragraphs as follows :

Lines 1-4—Introduction.

Lines 5-16—Refutation of the charges brought against Abdiheba.

Lines 17-24—Illustration of the malicious conduct of his enemies.

Lines 25-33—Statement of what happened after the troops previously asked for had been sent by Amenophis into Palestine.

Lines 34-38—General warning to the king and a special one against Ilimilku, who has abetted the rebellion among the cities of the king.

Lines 39-43—Statement of Abdiheba that prevailing hostilities prevent him from presenting himself in person at the Egyptian court.

Lines 44-47a—Abdiheba declares his readiness to come to Egypt if garrisons are sent to his aid.

Lines 47b-52—Declares that the rebellious provinces with their governors have passed beyond his control.

Lines 53-56—Requests troops against the Habiri who have plundered the whole country.

Lines 57-60—Presents the alternative of a restoration of the former conditions by a speedy reinforcement or a complete loss of the provinces through further delays.

Lines 61-64—Order to the royal scribe to give a clear report to the king. Summing up of the situation.

The letter assumes previous communications from Amenophis in which charges have been preferred against Abdiheba and the order given to the latter to present himself before Amenophis for the purpose, probably, of giving an account of himself; and the brevity of the references to the Habiri and Ilimilku, points with equal clearness to other communications on the part of Abdiheba in which their conduct must have been set forth in detail. The question arises in how far do the remaining letters supply the gap? Proceeding to No. 103, it will be found that its proper place is before No. 102.

No. 103.

The first eleven lines unfortunately are very badly preserved. The three opening lines containing the introductory address may be restored from a comparison with No. 102, but a real difficulty begins with l. 4. As in No. 102, Abdiheba plunges at once in *medias res*. I venture to fill up the beginning of l. 4 by the words [a-mur šar]ri, and in justification would point to Nos. 104, 105, 106, all of which begin in this peculiarly Hebraic fashion, a mur being the equivalent for מִרְיָה; in the case of No. 104, moreover, we have a mur followed by šarri precisely as in No. 103. If Zimmern's conjecture for line 5 ušerubuni is correct, the reference in these two lines would be to a message that the king

has sent Abdiheba. For the commencement of l. 6, the parallel No. 106, 4 bears out Zimmern's reading *amur êp ša*; and he is also right in his continuation of the line. This being admitted, we would now expect a mention of the persons who have committed the deed which is spoken of. From l. 29 where at the end of a paragraph, the writer sums up "See, this deed is the deed of Milkil and the deed of the Lâwaites," it will surely not be considered too bold to suppose these personages to have been referred to in the passage under consideration. As a matter of fact, l. 8 preserves the last elements of [La]-â-wa and I would therefore propose to complete by reading as in l. 29 *Milkil u mârê La-â-wa*. But it is quite hopeless to determine what was said about Milkil and the Lâwaites in these lines, since two lines are entirely gone. Line 11 contains a verb *ušerubu* and assuming the parties just mentioned to be the subject, we may reasonably conjecture that an attack made by them was spoken of and one of considerable import, for the king is urged by Abdiheba to have a lookout, since the hostilities have spread until they embrace the entire province. The next paragraph, fortunately, is perfectly clear. It extends from line 14 to 19. Introduced by the frequent *amur*, it speaks of the manner in which the cities of Gezer, Ascalon and Lachish abetted the cause of the opponents of Abdiheba, furnishing "eatables, oil, and all kinds of things to them." The individuals referred to are again according to the above conjecture Milkil and the Lâwaites; and there is another reference to the same parties in the *amelâti* (l. 18) "who have sinned against the king," and against whom Amenophis is urged to send *pidâte*. There follows a threat similar to the one in No. 102, that unless the reinforcements come within the present year, "the lands with their governors will be no more." The next paragraph (ll. 25-29) reveals the name of the province over which Abdiheba presides, namely, *mât âlu Urusalim*. In an article on "Egypt and Palestine" (*Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, XI., p. 104) I have called attention to the important fact that Jerusalem appears here as the name of an entire district. True, the addition of the determinative for city shows that there must also have been a city of that name, but as in the case of Babel, Ashur and the like, the name was extended from the city to the province of which it formed the seat and centre. It is significant thus to observe that we have in Palestine a political development similar to that characteristic of the various kingdoms of Mesopotamia,—the city as the starting point of power and the province regarded as the extension of the city. In this light we must view the curious expression *mâtâti âlu Urusalim*, "lands or districts of Jerusalem," which occurs in l. 63. Whatever came under Abdiheba's jurisdiction would be included in the city of Jerusalem and the use of the plural clearly points to a considerable extension of his domain comprising several distinct areas, each of which must have formed at one time a *mât* by itself. A further proof that Jerusalem was actually the name for Abdiheba's province and not merely the

name of a city is furnished by l. 61 of our letter where *mât* *Urusalim* appears without the determinative for *âlu*, showing that the latter when affixed is nothing more than a determinative and therefore not to be translated. Moreover in the two passages just noted, as well as in No. 106, 14, Jerusalem is followed by the determinative for "country." Proceeding a step further, the question arises whether it is possible from the evidence contained in the letters of Abdiheba to determine the extent of the *mât* or *mâtâtî* of Jerusalem? An indication is given in No. 104, where l. 26, Abdiheba declares that the hostility against him extends *adi mâtâtî Še-e-ri adi âlu Gin-ti-ki-ir-mi-il*. The second element of *Gintikirmil* points unmistakably to some place in the Carmel range—hence to the north. *Ginti* (which reading is to be preferred to Halévy's *Guti*) as the feminine of *גן* could appropriately be applied to the "forest range" of Carmel itself. For *Šêri*, Zimmern's proposition to identify with *שעיר* is in every way acceptable and a neat parallel would thus be established between the northern and southern mountain range of Palestine. Abdiheba being at pains to specify that the disturbances within this territory from south to north are directed against him, it is but legitimate to conclude that as the *ḥazân* of Jerusalem, he held sway over the districts referred to. In the west, on the other hand, his rule does not appear to reach far beyond Jerusalem, for although the coast cities of Gath and Ascalon are involved, as well as cities lying near the coast like Gezer and Lachish, they are not spoken of in a manner that would point to their standing immediately under Abdiheba's sway. They abet the cause of the governor's opponents, furnish them with provisions, and allow themselves to be hired by the latter, but Abdiheba does not charge them with having revolted from him. Returning to the subject, the mention of Jerusalem also explains the expression *ina ašri annî* No. 102, 11. The passage forms a parallel to No. 103, 25–28, and the "place" to which Amenophis has appointed Abdiheba can be no other than Jerusalem.

The three phrases introduced by *a mur* (ll. 25, 29, 32) I take as forming the ground for the appeal (beginning with l. 34) which Abdiheba makes to the king to investigate the real state of affairs. For the sake of Jerusalem, he says, and in view of what the clans of Milkil and Labâ' have done by playing into the hands of the *Ḥabiri*, and inasmuch as the king has acted justly towards him in the case of the *Kaši*,—therefore, let the king make inquiries of his messengers. Abdiheba, thereupon, proceeds to enumerate the points to which the inquiry should be directed and in doing so, reiterates the statements made by him in this and other communications. Owing to the breaks in the closing lines of the obverse and the opening lines of the reverse, not all the points referred to can be determined, but enough is preserved to show that Abdiheba prefers serious charges against his opponents, claiming that their transgression was heavy, that they devastated the fields and that they furnished food of all kinds to those whom they gained over to

their side. The paragraph containing this request for an inquiry may be said to extend from 33b to 48b, but is broken into two sections at line 43 where he repeats *lišalmi*, much as in the preceding letter, a long paragraph is divided up in this way. The demand for an investigation leads the writer naturally to further and direct statements regarding the situation and it may be that this statement begins prior to l. 48. The question is not of great moment, for the two paragraphs comprising 33b to 59 belong together and form the body of the letter. Again in the second paragraph, the introductory verb *liṭēmi šarri* "may the king know" is repeated at line 57b, by which, as in the cases noted above, a subdivision is marked. The clear feature of this paragraph is the reference to *Adā'* whose defection, as he announces in the preceding lines, took place prior to the arrival of the special messenger *Pauru* sent by *Amenophis* to *Jerusalem*. Beyond this, however, the passage is obscure and indeed these lines down to 57 are perhaps the most puzzling in the series of letters under consideration. Neither *Zimmern* nor *Halévy* offers any satisfactory interpretation, and I confess myself unable to make anything out of it at present.

Line 58—*Zimmern* wishes to place the words *mušera ḥarrana* at the end of l. 57, but without sufficient warrant as it seems to me. *Halévy's* rendition of this passage, viz.: "I cannot take the road to go to the king as thou knowest" is altogether satisfactory. *Abdiheba* again, as in No. 102, excuses himself for not personally pleading his case before the king. At the same time the brief way in which the excuse is made implies that in another communication the subject has been fully covered. The letter proper closes with a renewed appeal to the king. *Jerusalem* being the city over which the king has placed his name, "it is not meet" concludes *Abdiheba*, "to desert the districts of *Jerusalem*." In the postscript addressed as usual to the royal scribe and messenger, *Abdiheba* salutes the scribe as "thy servant, I prostrate myself, thy servant am I." Making due allowance for meaningless formalities implied in such modes of address, still *Abdiheba* would not so speak to any but a high official. The salutation thus bears out the opinion above advanced as to the status of the scribe who acts as the "go-between." As in No. 102, *Abdiheba* asks the messenger to report the message clearly. There follows a second postscript addressed to the king. Coming back to the *Kaši* of whom mention was incidentally made in the letter, *Abdiheba* enters a plea on their behalf. He hopes that even if the king decides upon inflicting punishment upon them, he will not put those to death who are in *Abdiheba's* house. Summing up the contents of this letter, we have the following paragraphs:

(1) Lines 1-3—Introduction.

(2) Lines 4-13—Account of the doings of *Milkil* and *Labâ'(?), Abdiheba* asks the king in view of prevailing hostilities to have a care for his land.

(3) Lines 14-19—Declares that Gezer, Ascalon and Lakiš have aided the enemy. Asks for troops against those who have sinned towards the king.

(4) Lines 20-25—Threatens that if troops do not come in the course of the year, the provinces with their governors will be lost.

(5) Lines 25-33a—Pleads on behalf of Jerusalem, reminds the king of what the clans of Milkil and Labâ' have done and appeals to the king's sense of justice as manifested in the case of the Kašites.

(6) Lines 33b-42—Asks for investigation into the sad condition of affairs of the country.

(7) Lines 43-48—Urges investigation in regard to the food furnished the opponents of Abdiheba. Declares that by the time that the special envoy Pauru came, Adâ' was already in revolt against the king.

(8) Lines 49-57a—Urges the king in view of this hostile attitude of Adâ' to send garrison troops during this year. [Rest of passage obscure.] Mention of Jalûna.

(9) Lines 57b-59—Informs the king of his inability to report in person.

(10) Lines 60-63—Final appeal to the king not to desert Jerusalem.

(11) Lines 64-70—Address to the royal scribe, summing up the substance of the letter by the renewed pledge of fidelity.

(12) Line 71—Postscript. Appeal on behalf of the Kaši.

No. 104.

This letter, which is in a better state of preservation than the rest of the series, adds materially to our knowledge of the situation. Its important feature is the prominent part enacted by the Ḥabiri.

The introduction is longer than ordinary, extending as it does to l. 16. Upon the salutation follow three clauses, each introduced by a *mur* and intended to add emphasis to the appeal for assistance which constitutes the purpose of the letter. The first of these clauses is especially interesting because of the phrase (applied to the king) "whose name is established from the rising to the setting of the sun." Its Hebrew coloring is unmistakable, cf. Malachi i. 11. In the second and third clauses, Abdiheba declares that he is more than a mere governor; he furnishes tribute; he is a friend of the king (*ruḥi-šarri* = רַעְיָהוּ הַמֶּלֶךְ 1 Kgs. iv. 5), and it is to the latter that he owes his position. In the letter proper, he begins by reminding the king of the men and women that were promptly placed by him in the hands of Šuta the envoy of the king, upon Šuta's arrival in the district. For all that, and despite his fidelity to Amenophis, hostilities have spread to the south and north.*

In line 30, Zimmern's proposition to read *en â* may again be accepted; and the reading strengthens Halévy's interpretation of the difficult phrase in l. 33

* See above, No. 103.

which has been the occasion of considerable discussion. As against Zimmern, Halévy (*J.A.*, 1891, p. 527) connects l. 33 with what precedes, and makes it the close of the sentence which may be said to begin at l. 23. The phrase itself he interprets as a metaphor illustrative of Abdiheba's desperate plight. Let me add only that I take amiri in l. 29 to be an epithet identical in form and force with a-mi-ru that occurs in Shalmaneser's Monolith (*III R.* 7, 6) as a title of royalty. Abdiheba says in substance "and even if [I were] an *Emir* [i. e. more than a mere *hazân*] I could not proceed "to the presence of the king my lord, for hostility encompasses me as a ship [sc. is encompassed by water] in the midst of the sea."

Once more Abdiheba appeals to the king's pride. "The arm of the mighty king," he says—that same arm which placed Abdiheba in his present position—"the arm of the mighty king, has taken possession of the land of Na-i-ri and Kapasi,* but now the cities of the king have been captured by the Habiri, until not a single governor is left to the king my lord, all being destroyed." Abdiheba refers to former campaigns of the king to distant lands but despite this extension of domain, districts lying so much nearer to Egypt and falling under her immediate jurisdiction are exposed to the mercy of a band of marauders. Abdiheba passes on to enumerate the details in the struggle against the Habiri. Turbazu, the governor of Zilu [i. e. Šela] has been killed, Zimridi of Lakiš has been captured and Japti-addi has shared the fate of Turbazu.

In view of this, the king is implored to send troops immediately; and as in the preceding letters, the threat is added that unless the troops come within the current year, the entire province will be lost. The appeal this time is more urgently made than before, for Abdiheba is at pains to repeat it forthwith and at even greater length, offering as the alternative to the king in case of the latter's refusal to accede to the demand that he should at least send an envoy to take Abdiheba and his family [literally "the brothers"] out of the country and permit them to die in the presence of the king. Things are evidently approaching a crisis and from the tone of the letter, we are justified in placing this communication chronologically after No. 103. The letter closes with the usual instruction to the scribe. A summary of the contents of this letter may be made as follows :

- (1) Lines 1-4—Salutation.
- (2) Lines 5-8—Praise of the king.
- (3) Lines 9-15—Declaration of fidelity and obligation to the king.
- (4) Lines 16-22—Reminder of former execution of promises.
- (5) Lines 23-33—Calls attention to the spread of hostilities which make Abdiheba virtually a prisoner in his own land, surrounded as he is by enemies as a ship is surrounded by water.

* Zimmern assumes an error here for Kaši.

(6) Lines 34-38—Unfolds the contrast between the distant conquests of the king and his apparent indifference to events nearer home.

(7) Lines 39-47a—The ravages of the Ḥabiri, and the fate of the governors.

(8) Lines 47b-54—Strong appeal for immediate assistance.

(9) Lines 55-62—Repetition of the appeal or as an alternative the request of Abdiheba on his own behalf and on behalf of his family to be rescued from their perilous position.

(10) Lines 63-66—Address to the scribe.

(11) Lines 67—Summary on the margin of the tablet "Thy faithful servant am I."

No. 105.

The main points in this letter are the charges against Milkil in the first half and similar complaints against the king's special messenger Pâru in the second. Abdiheba denies the statement which appears to have been made to the king that Milkil has cut loose from association with the clans of Lab'â and Arza in abetting the latter to gain possession of the royal domain. "Why," continues Abdiheba, "does not the king inquire whether any ḥazân has done such a thing?" On the contrary, what Milkil, in consort with his father-in-law Tagi has done is to capture the city of Rubute which I venture to identify with R'hoboth. A large break occurs here which makes it impossible to determine the further line of argument pursued. No doubt the deeds of Milkil were rehearsed in detail and it is but reasonable to suppose that the Ḥabiri were referred to. At the point on the reverse where the thread is taken up, Abdiheba makes his usual request for troops,* inasmuch as he claims to be without any garrison. In order to justify this claim, Abdiheba solemnly charges Pâru also, who was sent by the king with reinforcements for the ḥazân of Jerusalem, with having played a false game. "As the king lives, Pâru upon his entrance [into the country] deserted me. He is at present in Gaza." Abdiheba again appeals to the king to have a care for his land. Zimmern calls attention to a serious omission at this juncture in Winckler-Abel's edition. A line has been overlooked in which the request is made for fifty men. The number strikes one as very small, considering the importance given to the affair by the Palestinian official, and it would be worth the while to examine the original once more. The whole land, Abdiheba declares has fallen off and in order that the king may satisfy himself of the truth of this statement, he is asked to send on Yanḥamu and charge him with investigating the existing conditions. Here the letter ends and after the customary request to the scribe to deliver the message, Abdiheba adds "much greeting to the king, thy servant am I."

* Halévy (*J.A.*, 1891, p. 529) is unquestionably right as against Zimmern in reading u-ma-še and which suggests that some form of the verb mašaru was employed here.

It will be remembered that Pû'ru* is referred to in No. 103, and from the fact that there the desertion of Adâ is mentioned, as following upon Pû'ru's arrival we are justified in placing our letter before No. 103, the latter assuming that the king has been informed of what Pû'ru himself has done. A summary of this letter so far as preserved might be made as follows.

(1) Lines 1-4—Customary introduction.

(2) Lines 5-8—Denial of assertion that Milkil has abandoned his hostile course.

(3) Lines 9-10—Abdiheba asks the king to investigate the matter.

(4) Lines 11-00—Charges Milkil and Tagi with having taken the city of Rubute, etc.

Obv. (5) Lines 1-3—Asks for garrisons, since

(6) Lines 4-6—Pû'ru, although sent to Abdiheba's relief deserted the latter at once, and is at present in Gaza instead of advancing towards Jerusalem.

(7) Lines 7-8—Appeals to king for aid to protect the country.

(8) Lines 9-11—Declares that the whole district is in revolt and requests that Yanhamu be dispatched to satisfy the king of the truth of Abdiheba's statements.

(9) Lines 12-14—Address to the scribe.

(10) On the margin, Abdiheba's greeting to the king and declaration of loyalty.

No. 106.

Whereas in No. 105, it is Milkil and Tagi against whom the governor of Jerusalem lodges his complaints, here Milkil and Šuardatum are declared to be in collusion for obtaining possession of the lands of the king. They have hired, says Abdiheba, the soldiery of Gezer, of Gimti and of Kilti. Furthermore, they have taken the district of Rubute. Indeed, the entire district has gone over to the Habiri, and to cap the climax, a city included within the narrower province of Jerusalem and thus falling directly under Abdiheba's sway has deserted the standard of the latter.

According to Halévy's interpretation of ll. 14-15 (which read âlu mât Uru-salim (KI) šumuša âlu Bit-Ninib) bit Ninib (i. e. the temple of Ninib), is another name for Jerusalem; but it is hardly possible that the pronominal suffix of šumuša should refer to Urusalim. Zimmern appears to be unquestionably correct in connecting the suffix with âlu at the beginning of the line, thus making Abdiheba refer to a certain city within the mât Uru-salim. I venture to question, however, whether he is right in his view as to the name of the city. No

* Here written Pa-u-ru and elsewhere Pu-ḫu-râ (cf. Zimmern, ZA., VI., p. 254 note 2). $\overline{\text{H}}$ occurring in these letters as the transliteration for y , it follows that the name of the envoy is $\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{y}}$. The slight sound introduced between the first and second letters must have been sufficiently vague to justify a hesitation between rendering it as a or as u .

traces of the worship of Ninib (or Adar) have been found as far west as Palestine and Zimmern himself feeling the force of such an objection suggests in a foot-note that by Ninib may here be meant a Canaanitic deity corresponding to the Babylonian god of that name. I should like to propose the reading Bit-Anatu i. e. בִּית עֲנַת and in justification would call attention to the mythological tablet III R. 69, where among a list of deities noted as forms or manifestations of Anu and Anatu, we find l. 5 our deity Ninib. The position of Beth-Anoth,* to the north of Hebron whose ancient name survives under the modern form Beitainun fits in admirably with the geographical requirements. Moreover, Anatu is precisely the deity whose worship we know from the occurrence of such proper names as עֲנַת among Edomitic clans (cf. Gen. xxxvi. 2; xiv. 20; xxiv. 29) as well as the city Anathoth (formed from עֲנַת like Ashteroth) extended far beyond the borders of Babylonia;† and as further evidence for the existence of a Beth-Anoth in Palestine at this time, the records of Thotmes III. come to our aid who makes mention of a Palestinian town of that name.

In the next paragraph Abdiheba repeats his request for troops, urging that if they are not forthcoming the land of the king will fall into the power of the Habiri. "This deed," adds Abdiheba solemnly, "is the deed of Šuardatum and Milkili." The rest of the letter is broken off; only the margin remaining on which one reads the familiar refrain "Therefore let the king have a care for his land."

In addition to these five letters, there are two fragments that may with considerable certainty be ascribed to Abdiheba, viz: Nos. 174 and 199. Regarding the former, the indications in favor of assuming Abdiheba as the writer are as follows: (1) the introductory phrases which are identical with those used in the letters discussed; (2) characteristic phrases as "may the king my lord have a care" (l. 26); "I am not a ḥazân but an officer of the king" (l. 6); (3) the traces of the name Abdiheba (l. 14), and (4) the contents which, so far as they can be made out, fit in well with the other letters. The writer asks as in the letters above instanced, "Why does the king my lord not send troops?" He assures the king of his loyalty and apparently emphasizes the need for assistance. For No. 199 the internal evidence points even more directly to Abdiheba as the writer, and I am glad to have my opinion confirmed by Halévy, who reaches the same conclu-

* Another Beth-Anoth is found in northern Palestine within the district of Naphtali, supposed to be represented by the modern 'Ainate (Gesenius, *Handw.*,¹⁰ p. 110).

† See Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 187-188. The male consort of Anatu, Anu, was also known in Palestine as is shown by אַנּוּ (Jos. xv. 50), represents a Judæan town and where the final Mem represents the mimmaton precisely as in Assyrian we find by Anum the side of Anu e. g. (III R. 87, ll. 1 and 3). In I Chron. vi. 58 we have another town of the same name, though under the slightly modified form of עֲנַתִּיָּה; and since we find a proper name עֲנַתִּיָּה, i. e. Anathothyah, I Chron. viii. 24 it is quite possible that עֲנַתִּיָּה (Neh. viii. 4; x. 28) may have originally been a combination of Anu and Yâh.

sion. Perhaps the most interesting feature in the twenty lines that remain of this tablet, is the occurrence of the name of Jerusalem,—the traces of which are quite clear in l. 1 of the fragment and also in l. 16. So far as can be made out, the contents are as follows :

The writer asks, "why if this district still belongs to the king is Gaza permitted to plot against the king?" The question is intended to be an appeal to the king's pride. "The city of Ginti-Kirmil" he goes on to say "is in the hands of Tagi and the men of Guti have been captured alive," and Labâ' has handed over another district to the Habiri. Milkil also is stirring up revolt, sending messages to certain clans "to carry out all their desires," and to others—the men of Kilti, "to cut themselves loose from Jerusalem." What follows is not clear beyond the statement that Addâ is in his house in Hazâti (Gaza).

Elsewhere* I have discussed the historical importance of these letters and set forth the inferences to be drawn regarding the political condition of Palestine before the days of the exodus. I shall content myself here with discussing the chronological order of the letters and with a general summary of the political situation as resulting from this order. It is clear that we possess only a portion of Abdiheba's correspondence with the Egyptian court, for events are referred to in the letters of which the explanation is wanting. As a consequence, the sequence cannot be positively fixed, but it is sufficient for all practical purposes to determine the general order in the development of affairs. The situation in No. 102 appears to be more pressing than in any of the others. From the way in which the Habiri are spoken of, it is evident that the king has already learned from Abdiheba (and probably from others) what the Habiri have done; and so far from coming to the aid of Abdiheba, the Egyptian ruler has manifested his displeasure with the governor of Jerusalem and those in league with the latter. Consequently the letter is to be placed after No. 103, where the part taken by the Habiri is set forth, and also after No. 106, where further details of what the Habiri have done are indicated. Again, the Habiri are not the prime instigators of the movement against Abdiheba. Behind them, stand at least three clans under the leadership of Milkil, Labâ' and Šuardatum. In No. 103, Milkil and Labâ' with their followers are declared to be the traducers who have played into the hands of the Habiri, while in No. 106 it is Milkil in combination with Šuardatum who has succeeded, according to Abdiheba, in spreading the defection through a bribe offered to the soldiery of Gezer, Ginti and Kilti, and in consequence of which the entire province is now declared to be in the hands of the Habiri. Šuardatum and Milkil are said to have brought this about. It follows that Milkil is the one who is to be placed in the first category of Abdiheba's opponents, and the growing supremacy of the Habiri being due to the combination

* *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XI., pp. 95-124.

effected by Milkil with the followers of Labâ' and Šuardatum, the position of extreme helplessness portrayed in No. 102, follows in order of time upon the conditions presented in No. 106 as well as No. 103. For a similar reason No. 105 must also be placed before No. 102. In No. 105 there is a reply to a statement that must have been made to the king by Milkil, from whom as a matter of fact we have a number of letters. Abdiĥeba declares that Milkil has not cut himself loose from association with the clans of Labâ' and Arzâ', and furthermore charges Milkil with still another combination directed against the royal interests, this time with Tagi—his father-in-law. In further justification of this order, we may instance the fact that in No. 105, Abdiĥeba requests the king to send Yanĥamu into the country, while in No. 102 the royal messenger it appears has arrived, but has not fulfilled the hopes and wishes of Abdiĥeba.

On the other hand, as between No. 102 and No. 104, it is not so easy to determine which is to be given the chronological preference. In both, the situation is described as approaching a climax. Both contain a strong appeal to the king couched in similar terms; in both Abdiĥeba rests his case upon a recognition the debt of gratitude that he owes to the king, and according to both it is the Ĥabiri who are now in control of the situation. The interval between the two cannot in any case have been very long. The sole indication which would warrant a decision in favor of No. 104 as the earlier of the two is the greater detail with which the ravages of the Ĥabiri are described, while in No. 102, Abdiĥeba contents himself with a simple reference to their doings, assuming apparently that the king is already in full possession of the facts. As for No. 174 it is perhaps too fragmentary to enter into the discussion, while No. 199 connecting itself closely with Nos. 105 and 106,—Tagi being in control of Ginti-Kirmil, Labâ' aiding the Ĥabiri, and Milkil conspiring with the soldiery of Kilti,—is without much doubt also to be placed before Nos. 102 and 104. Regarding No. 174, it might be added that it assumes a previous letter in which the request for troops had been made and Abdiĥeba is evidently growing impatient. Still the absence of any names in the fragment renders it impossible for the present to say more than that it appears to be of an earlier date than No. 102. As for the relation of No. 103 to the other letters in the series, it evidently antedates No. 104, for while in both the defection of Lakiš among other cities is referred to, in the former it is only stated that the Lakišites aided the opponents of Abdiĥeba with food and drink, while according to the latter, things have advanced further, the governor of Lakiš, Zimrida having been captured and put to death through the Ĥabiri. The mention of Pâru (or Pauru) in both Nos. 103 and 105 furnishes a basis for determining the relation between these two. In the former Abdiĥeba declares that scarcely had Pâru entered the country when Adâ joined the rebellious forces, in the latter he charges Pâru also with having gone over to the enemy. Again in No. 103, he asserts that Milkil and Labâ have joined issues,

and this apparently having been denied by Milkil, Abdiheba in No. 105 assures the king that Milkil has not cut himself loose from the alliance with Labâ' and his followers. Thirdly, while in No. 103 he asks the king to send an envoy but without mentioning any name, in No. 105 he specifies Yanhamu as the one whose presence he asks for. On the other hand, I am inclined to place No. 105 after No. 106. The common feature in both is the mention of Gezer, which in No. 103 is placed alongside of Aškalon and Lakiš, and in No. 106 by the side of Gimiti and Kilti. In the latter Abdiheba asserts that the soldiery of Gezer has been bribed by Milkil and Šuardatum, and we may therefore assume that the aid given by Gezer, which is specified in No. 103, is a consequence of this bribe. Moreover in No. 106 the defection has not yet reached Jerusalem itself; in No. 103 Abdiheba makes a strong appeal for both district and city. Thirdly, in No. 106 Abdiheba threatens that if troops are not forthcoming the defection which has already begun will spread and the Habiri will be in full control; in No. 103 the latter are represented as having already gained the supremacy through the aid of Milkil and Labâ'. Finally, leaving No. 174 again out of consideration as too fragmentary in character, letter No. 199 stands in close connection with No. 106, the main feature common to both being the addition of the soldiery of Kilti to the ranks of Abdiheba's opponents. Furthermore the attempt on the part of the men of Kilti, abetted by Milkil, to bring about a defection in Jerusalem itself seems to have gained ground in No. 106, where a town belonging immediately to Jerusalem has fallen into the power of Kilti. I should therefore be inclined to place No. 199 immediately after No. 106, which would thus make No. 103 the third in order of time.

Upon examination it will appear that comparing Nos. 104 and 105 with Nos. 106 and 199, the conclusion reached which places the former after the latter will be fully borne out. Thus, to mention only a few incidents, in No. 105 the capture of Rubute, announced in No. 106, is spoken of as accomplished, while the question asked by Abdiheba in No. 199 with regard to Gaza receives explanation from the statement in No. 105 that Pîru, whom Abdiheba numbers among the deserters, is in possession of Gaza. As for No. 104* the general tone of the letter and more particularly the declaration that the revolt has spread in all directions, encompassing so large an extent of territory, is sufficient to bear out the correctness of the position maintained; nor is it difficult to choose between 104 and 105. The situation in the former has reached a farther point of development than in the latter. According to No. 104, things are not yet so bad but that there is hope for Abdiheba to retrieve his position, provided assistance is forthcoming. He therefore contents himself with appealing for troops, and asks the king to send

* If Japti-Addi, mentioned line 48, is identical with Adda of No. 199, the statement in the former regarding his death would form another piece of evidence in favor of placing No. 104 after No. 199.

Yanhamu so as to satisfy himself of the actual state of affairs. In No. 105, on the other hand, the Habiri are represented as having made considerable headway. One town after the other has fallen into their hands, the governors being killed or captured. The Habiri have practically taken possession of the district, not a single *hazânu* is left and Abdiheba prays the king if he is unwilling to send troops to save at least the life of his "faithful servant"—Abdiheba—and the members of his family. No. 102 joins on admirably to No. 104. The Habiri have destroyed the land; there is little hope of saving anything out of the wreck unless troops are sent "this year"—a phrase that is common to 102 and 104. Abdiheba declares himself to be a prisoner in his own district, unable to carry out the hope expressed in No. 104 of being permitted to seek refuge for himself and his family at the Egyptian court.

Accepting then the order Nos. 106, 199, 103, 105, 104, 102, with No. 174 as doubtful, though from general indications to be placed nearer to the end of the list rather than at the beginning, let me in conclusion summarize the contents of these letters by a chronological grouping of the incidents referred to.

The scene opens with a general revolt in the district known as Jerusalem and assigned by Amemphis to Abdiheba. The latter claiming to be faithful to the cause of his master, complains of the hostilities that are rendering his position untenable. At the head of the opposition stand three chieftains, Milkil, Labâ' and Šuardatum and leaders of clans who in accordance with the custom still prevailing among the nomadic Arabic tribes bear the name of their leaders, namely, *marê Labâ'*, i. e. the *b'êné' Labâ'*. In speaking therefore of Milkil, Labâ' and the like, Abdiheba has in mind the clans rather than the individuals. Milkil, who is known to us from five other letters addressed by him to the king of Egypt, has brought about with the aid of Šuardatum a strong combination directed against Abdiheba the *hazan* of Jerusalem. By means of bribes, as Abdiheba declares, the soldiery of several towns lying not far from Jerusalem and belonging to the district directly under Abdiheba's charge, have been won over to the side of Milkil and his associate. Among towns thus specified, two can be identified without much difficulty, viz: Gazri, i. e. Gezer, to the north-west of Jerusalem, and Kilti, i. e. Kegila (קַעִילָה Josh. xv. 44, etc.) to the south-west, while a third, Gimti, must for the present remain doubtful, though from its position in the text between Gazer and Kilti it seems likely that it must be sought for also to the west of Jerusalem. Proceeding thus in a southerly direction Milkil and Šuardatum with their reinforcements capture the district lying around the town of Rubutê. In the article above referred to (*Journal Bibl. Lit.*, Vol. XI., p. 109) I have maintained that Rubutê is the equivalent of the Hebrew רְחוּבוֹת; the guttural disappearing in the pronunciation and slight sound between the ר and the ב assimilated

to the vowel *u*, the final vowel alone occasions any difficulty.* While unable to go beyond this conjecture, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that a town of this name should have lain within the scene of action involved, and accepting the proposed identification (see above) of Bit-Ninib with Beth-Anath, Rubute would have to be placed to the southeast of Jerusalem, between Kilti and Beth-Anath.† The plan of Milkil is thus made clear, namely, to encompass Abdiheba on all sides so as to render escape impossible for him. But both Milkil and Šuardatum are overshadowed by a larger and more powerful clan, the Habiri men. It is the latter who reap the fruits of the situation, obtaining control as they do of the entire province through the opposition aroused against Abdiheba. The exact relation existing between Milkil and the Habiri is not clear, but so much is certain that the latter represent the more powerful party, absorbing the combinations made by Milkil, Šuardatum, Labâ' and their men. At the same time we are not justified in declaring the latter to be merely the leaders of the Habiri. In the case of Labâ' it is absolutely certain that he has a following of his own, as the expression *mârê Labâ'* shows, and as for the other two, we are justified from the way in which they are spoken of in regarding them also as leaders of small bands. Abdiheba in his distress calls upon his master, the king of Egypt, to dispatch troops to his aid. At a somewhat later stage, Milkil and Labâ' with their followers appear as the chief opponents of Abdiheba, though as before, merely in the rôle of the abettors of the cause of the Habiri. Indeed, one gains the impression in proceeding from one letter to the other that the Habiri are the destined rulers of the district, and will gradually swallow up the smaller groups which divided up southern Palestine among them. The sea coast and adjacent places have been won over by Milkil and Labâ' to their side, Ascalon as well as Gezer and Lakish being accused of lending assistance through furnishing food and drink to Milkil and Labâ'. As the troubles increase, Abdiheba's demand for troops becomes more urgent. He insists that unless aid is forthcoming from Egypt during the year, he will be unable to hold out. By way of emphasizing his appeal, he reminds the king of the favor formerly shown to the city of Jerusalem; and not content with this, he humbles himself before the king by declaring himself to be the creature of Amenophis. Meanwhile the latter had not been idle. Without placing much confidence either in Abdiheba's statements nor in his fidelity, he nevertheless saw fit to send a special envoy, Pauru, to clear up the situation, for while Abdiheba was writing in the strain indicated, those with whom he is engaged were no less active in memorializing the king for aid. Thus Milkil (Berlin, Nos. 108, 109 and 110 and London, Nos. 63 and 64) confirms the general impression of a disturbed condition

* ררובות = ru'but = râbût.

† The only Rehoboth (= er-Ruhêbe) in this region is the one to the southwest of Beersheba, evidently too far removed for our purpose.

of affairs but claiming to act in the interests of the king asks for troops against the enemies pressing against him and Šuardatum. The latter again brings a counter-charge against Abdiheba and declares (Berlin, No. 100) that he sent a message to the inhabitants of Kilti "take money and follow me." It would appear then that attempts were made on both sides to win support in this way and both Abdiheba and Milkil with his associates claiming to further the cause of Egypt it was merely a question as to which side would succeed in bringing the larger and stronger forces together. For a time it may be supposed, the court of Egypt was indifferent to these petty quarrels that were probably going on at all times but as they assumed larger dimensions, some steps had to be taken. Naturally neither party was satisfied with the outcome. Pauru, acting solely in the interest of Amenophis, ignored the claims and demands of Abdiheba. Hence we find the governor of Jerusalem complaining that Pauru in whom he hoped to gain an ally had also turned against him. In response to Abdiheba's demand, troops came but to the former's surprise they did not appear to have the instructions he desired. So far from rescuing him from his situation daily growing more precarious, they appeared to strengthen the cause of his enemies. Judging from letters of Labâ' and Šuardatum, (London, Nos. 61, 67, 68) the latter sent reinforcements to Pauru upon his arrival on the Phœnician coast. It is on this supposition that Šuardatum's declaration repeated in two letters (London, Nos. 67 and 68) regarding his defenceless position because of his having sent all available troops to join the Egyptian forces becomes intelligible. For all that, Pauru's object was not fully carried out. Whether Amenophis suspected him on the representations of Abdiheba of harboring selfish designs or for other reasons, Yanḥamu—a loyal officer, who plays an important part also in the affairs of northern Palestine and Syria is sent to the scene of war. Again Abdiheba is doomed to disappointment, for the garrisons dispatched by Amenophis are placed under the charge of Yanḥamu who appears to have no concern for the fate of Jerusalem and its governor, but just as little does he favor the other side. Milkil (London, No. 63) complains to the king of the tyranny exercised by Yanḥamu who has seized Milkil's property and besides has carried off his wives and children. We hear no more of Pauru and it seems a legitimate conclusion that after espousing the cause of Milkil and his followers, a general combination was made directed not so much against Abdiheba but against the supremacy of Egypt in the country, which rendered it imperative for Amenophis to send Yanḥamu charged with the supreme control over the contesting parties. A confirmation of this view is to be found in the growing power of the Ḥabiri as appears from a study of Abdiheba's letters. The Ḥabiri group or Ḥabiri men as they are called in this correspondence represent a growing force in the political entanglement, and the opponents of Abdiheba joining issues with the Ḥabiri, the speedy advance

of the latter is a consequence of an *entente* existing between them on the one side and Milkil, Šuardatum and later on Labá' and Pauru, on the other.

In consequence of this intricate double play as it were, going on in the country—characteristic of the quarrels and petty strifes among Arabic clans at all times—the position of Egypt becomes a peculiarly difficult one. On the one hand, Amenophis feels obliged to put a stop to the rebellious conduct of Abdiheba, the charges against whom he clearly believes to have a real foundation, and on the other hand he must watch for the proper moment when it becomes imperative to check the growing power of Abdiheba's opponents who despite their professions of loyalty to Egypt are ready in turn to become rivals of Amenophis' supremacy in the country. While therefore his policy is apparently directed against Abdiheba, Amenophis clearly has no desire to replace the latter by Milkil or any of his associates and finding that Pauru is in danger of being won over to the cause of Milkil and the Habiri, he dispatches a second officer one whose loyalty and ability has been put to the test, to avert the danger consequent upon the suppression of Abdiheba through the too great power accruing to the latter's opponents. Hence the complaint of Milkil against Yanhamu's supposed tyranny, while Abdiheba's position is not improved through the king's compliance with his governor's request to send Yanhamu with troops into the disturbed regions. Scarcely had the reinforcements come, writes Abdiheba, when Yanhama took them under his command. Naturally, for they were not sent to further Abdiheba's cause but solely in the interest of Amenophis. As a consequence, Abdiheba's plight grows from bad to worse and finding that Amenophis turns a deaf ear to his constant petition for relief from his perilous position, asks that at least his life and that of his family be spared. Shut in on all sides by hostile forces, he is unable to make his way to the Egyptian court whither he wishes to go in order to convince the king of his loyalty. Again and again he declares that he is unable to hold out much longer but instead of sympathy, charges of treachery—slanders according to his declarations—reach the ears of Amenophis. The letters of Abdiheba, Milkil, and others with their charges and counter-charges against his opponents reveal a sad picture of the political condition of the country, while illustrating at the same time the difficulties that Egypt encountered in maintaining her sway over her Eastern possessions. Internal dissensions, petty jealousies and constant friction of rival clans combined to keep the country in a perpetual state of agitation. Add to this the natural resistance of the inhabitants to a foreign yoke which at times must have borne heavily upon them, and it is not difficult to account for the troublesome conditions as depicted in the letters under consideration. The outcome of the movement is unfortunately not made clear in these letters which after all represent but a proportion—how large or how small it is impossible to say—of the correspondence that passed between Egypt and Palestine. According to Sayce (*Academy*, January 21, 1893) who recently sub-

mitted the "Bulaq" portion of the tablets to a renewed examination, a letter of Šuardatum (No. 169) contains the announcement of Abdiheba's death. The downfall of Abdiheba is exactly what we should have expected, though pending confirmation by some one less ingenious than the distinguished Oxford professor, the statement must rest solely upon Prof. Sayce's authority.*

In my article on *Egypt and Palestine* (pp. 118-122), I have proposed identifications for Habiri, Milkil and Labâ' which, if correct, throw an important light upon the historical aspects of the correspondence. Habiri being identical with a Hebrew patronymic **הַבִּירִי** and regarding Milkil as the name of a clan derived as is customary to this day in the Orient from the name of the leader—I called attention to the juxtaposition of the clans of **הַבִּירִי** and **מִלְכִּיאֵל** in the genealogies of the B'ne Asher (Num. XXXVI. 45; Gen. XLVI. 17, and I Chron. VII. 31). Furthermore, I tried to show that Labâ' as the name of a clan could be the equivalent of the Hebrew **לֵוִי**. The deduction to be drawn is that we have in portions of the el-Amarna letters actual records of some of the clans that afterwards formed part of the confederacy of the B'nê Israel; and the fact that the letters of Abdiheba belong to a period prior to the "Exodus" only enhances the importance and interest of this deduction. Since writing the above article, my studies of the el-Amarna correspondence have led me to submit the theory with a greater degree of confidence to the consideration of scholars. Regarding the proposed identification of Labâ' with **לֵוִי**, I would in addition lay stress upon the circumstance that as a term for the priestly caste in the O. T., the name is clearly a title—having the force of "attachè," the Levite being so called as the attachè to a sanctuary or a deity, while **לֵוִי** as the name of a tribe must have an entirely different origin.† The identification of the two—the "attachè" and the tribe, is due to the similarity of form, which might very well in turn have arisen from a mere coincidence of sound without etymological identity. By way of a further confirmation for the general theory advanced, the curious reference to the *amelûti* Ya-u-du

* No disrespect is intended towards Prof. Sayce whose many valuable contributions to science are thoroughly appreciated by the writer, but only a warning that must from time to time be sounded against Sayce's extreme ingenuity that occasionally leads him astray. So in connection with the very letters under consideration, Prof. Sayce, before even an opportunity was granted him to make a thorough study, formulated conclusions regarding a supposed oracle of a "mighty king" found in the letters of Abdiheba that have proved to be totally erroneous. There is no question whatsoever of an "oracle"—the word so interpreted being the simple word "arm" explained by a gloss as "hand"—and the "mighty king," having reference not to any **מֶלֶךְ עֲלִיּוֹן** of Melchizedek or to a god Salim but to Amenophis whom Abdiheba speaks of in these terms. It is a source of regret that Sayce should have been in such great haste to spread his bold conjectures through the medium of popular magazines and thus make it difficult to remove the false impressions created, but it is even more surprising that he should maintain his views in his article on the Abdiheba letters in the last volume of the *Records of the Past* (V. pp. 61 and 66). Prof. Sayce has only himself to blame if in consequence, scholars maintain an attitude of reserve toward his statements, despite the sincere admiration entertained for his abilities and learning.

† See Baudissin, *Gesch. Alttest. Priesterthums*, p. 72.

"the men of Judah" and "the soldiery of the men of Judah" in the El-Amarna texts first pointed out by Scheil (*Journal Asiatique*, 1890, pp. 347-49) may be adduced. As I show in a note on the subject in the last number of the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, (XII. pp. 91-72) the Ya-u-du here spoken of can only be a clan, such as the Habiri mârê Milkil and the like and not the people of Judah. Naturally we must not expect to find the Hebrew clans to be in all respects the same as they appear at the time of the formation of the political confederacy, nor even dwelling in the same region as in later days. It is sufficient to prove the antiquity of the names that we meet with in days nearer to our historical horizon and their existence in the country at a time prior to their appearance on the stage of history in the rôle that we have been accustomed to associate with them. Viewing the letters of Abdiheba in this light, it will be clear that they possess a special significance for those interested in the question as to the early fortunes of the "Hebrew" tribes in Palestine.*

* Since writing this article, C. R. Conder's work on "The Tell-Amarna Tablets" (London, 1893) has appeared. The translation of the letters from Jerusalem,—though only of six of them—may be found on pp. 139-157. Suffice it to say of these translations—and the remark applies to all the others in Conder's book—that they are frequently fanciful and throughout unreliable, due not to any inherent difficulties in the texts but to Conder's wholly inadequate knowledge of the language in which the letters are written. What he means by calling this language "Aramaic resembling Assyrian" (p. 1) I fail to understand. Naturally, the basis of his structure being faulty, the conclusions drawn by him are equally untrustworthy. The value of his work, so far as it has any, lies in its geographical identifications. It is extremely to be regretted that the first English translation of such important documents should bear so unscientific a character.

HISTORY OF THE PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, TOGETHER WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE RABBINIC AND POLYGLOT BIBLES.

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The following pages are intended to give a complete history of the printed text of the Old Testament. The works of Le Long-Masch,¹ and of Wolf,² contain a great deal of matter, good enough as far as it goes; recent writers as Keil³ dispose of it in a few lines; thus the latter speaks of the principal editions of the Old Testament on five and one-half pages, including the notes, or after deducting the notes, in fifty-seven lines including the additions made by the English translator. My aim is to give not only a complete history of the editions of the Old Testament, but what seems to be more important, a genealogy of the different editions, thus enabling the student to trace back the origin of the one or the other edition.

The first complete Hebrew Bible was given to the public in the year 1488, or twenty-eight years before the first Greek New Testament was published by Erasmus. It is true, that the first Greek New Testament, found in the fifth volume of the Complutensian Polyglot was completed at press in 1514, but this stupendous work was not given to the public until the year 1520. Prior and subsequent to the publication of the first Hebrew Bible, parts of the Old Testament were published, but the text was far from being complete. They were printed from manuscripts as far as they could be obtained, and these were comparatively modern, none of them, including those extant now, can compare with the Sinaitic or Vatican Greek manuscripts.

The Hebrew text as we have it now proceeded from the Massoretes or those scholars who, after the completion of the Talmud, betook themselves to fix the text, whence it is called the "Massoretic." To the labors of these men are due the accents, vowels, ornamentations, etc. of the present text, and at a very early time we already find two schools, the Babylonian and Palestinian, respectively represented by Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali, in which differences existed as to certain readings of the text. These differences or variations are now correctly given in the edition of the Hebrew text by Baer and Delitzsch. Other helps in that direction are the *Dikduke ha-Teamim* of Aaron ben Asher, edited by Baer and

¹ *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Halle, 1778-1790.

² *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, Hamburg, 1715-1733.

³ *Manual of Historico-Critical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament*. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1870.

Strack (Leipsic, 1879), and the book *Oclah we-Oclah*, a Massoretic work quoted already towards the end of the 12th century, published by Frensdorf (Hanover, 1864) and described in my article s. v. *Oclah* in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop.

The text as it stands now is a relatively correct one, differing greatly from that which the Alexandrian translators had before them. Some critics attach therefore greater importance to the Alexandrian version than to the Massoretic text. Others have undertaken to correct the Hebrew text by means of ancient versions, especially the Septuagint. Whether or not criticism will ever succeed in restoring the text as it was in the pre-Massoretic times, is a question which can not now be decided, but it is certain that criticism has brought about a better judgment as to the merits or demerits of the Massoretic text, than it was two centuries ago, and even the most conservative theologian must make allowance to textual criticism. In the year 1678, a law was enacted that no person should be licensed to preach the gospel unless he publicly declared that he believed in the integrity of the Hebrew text, and in the divinity of the vowel-points and accents ("codicem Hebr. Vet. Test. tum quoad consonas tum quoad vocalia sive puncta ipsa sive punctorum saltem potestatem *θεόπνευστον* esse," *Formula Consensus*, Art. IV. can. ii.); but no one will subscribe to such a law to-day in Switzerland or in other parts of the continent. Textual criticism, therefore, need not be feared. It tends as far as possible to bring before us the oracles of God in their original state. "True criticism never disregards the letter, but reverently and tenderly handles every letter and syllable of the Word of God, striving to purify it from all dross, brushing away the dust of tradition and guarding it from the ignorant and profane. But it is with no superstitious dread of magical virtues or vices in it, or anxious fears lest it should dissolve in the hands, but with an assured trust that it is the tabernacle of God, through whose eternal courts there is an approach to the Lord Jesus himself.... Such criticism has accomplished great things for the New Testament text. It will do even more for the Old Testament so soon as the old superstitious reverence for Massoretic tradition and servitude to the Jews has been laid aside by Christian scholars," (Briggs, *Biblical Study*, New York, 1883, p. 162).

After the invention of the art of printing, many were desirous to publish correct editions of the Holy Scriptures, although the first entire Hebrew Bible was not published until the year 1488, after all the parts had been previously published.

The first part was

The Psalter

With the commentary of Kimchi (†ab. 1240), in quarto, or small folio, in the year 237 i. e. A. D. 1477, *sine loco*.

This very rare edition is printed on 149 folios, each page containing 40 lines but without division of verses, minuscular and majuscular letters. Only the first four psalms have vowel-points, and these but clumsily expressed. Each verse is

accompanied by Kimchi's commentary. The pages and psalms are not numbered. The *Soph Pasuk* (i. e. ;) is often omitted especially when two verses stand by each other. For the word יהוה often an empty space is left, sometimes it is omitted; in this space we often find an inverted *He* ך, or an inverted *Waw* ך in the word יהוה; often the word is expressed by a sign of abbreviation E, which generally occurs in the commentary. In Ps. 119:1 we find יהיה i. e. a *Yodh* for a *Waw*. Some letters כ and ב, ך and ך, ר and ך, ן and ן, ן and ן, עי and ש can hardly be distinguished from each other. The *matres lectiones* are put at pleasure and according to rabbinic mode, i. e. *Yodh mobile* is expressed by two *Yodhs*; *Tsere*, *Seghol*, *Dagesh-forte*, *Sh'wa* by a *Yodh*, etc.; *Kibbuts*, *Kamets* and *Kamets-ha-tuph* by ם or ן. The word יהוה stands often for אדני. It is divided into five books. Thus at the end of Psalm 41 we read נשלם ספר ראשון i. e. "end of the first book; praise to the highest God; beginning of the second book." After Ps. 72:17 the papal corrector erased nineteen lines of the commentary. At the end of the latter psalm is printed: "completed is the second book; I will commence the third book." At the end of Ps. 89 is printed: "the third book is completed, I will give praise to my creator and maker; this is the fourth book." At the end of Ps. 106 we read: "completed is the fourth book, and I will commence the fifth book." At the end of the volume two epigraphs are printed, one in rhyme, the other in prose, from which we learn:

1. That this edition was the first, which left the newly established printing establishment;

2. That only 300 copies were printed, one better than the other (המהדרים (מן המהדרים);

3. That the printer's name was Joseph Venria, and that he probably was a German, which is indicated by the word מיישטר i. e. *meister*, unless it stands for the Italian *maestro*;

4. That he was assisted by Chajin Mordechai and Hiskias Montro;

5. That it was finished on the 20th day of Elul (September) in the year 287 (i. e. A. D. 1477). The place where it was printed is not given, but it was probably at Bologna.

The text itself is far from being correct, yet there are some readings which agree with those found in the critical edition of the Psalter, published by Baer & Delitzsch (Leipzig, 1880):

7: 5	שולמי	27: 5	יסתרני
8: 3	ויונקים	44:23	הרגנו
9:12	הגידו	71:20	תעלני
10: 7	ותן	90:16	פסלך
17: 5	אשורי	144: 6	ברך
17:11	אשורנו		

2. *The Pentateuch*

With the Chaldee of Onkelos and the commentary of Rashi (+ 1105), folio; Bologna, 242, i. e. A. D. 1482. This copy is printed on 248 parchment leaves. Above and below the Hebrew, Rashi's commentary is given, whilst the Chaldee is printed on the side of the Hebrew. The type is executed in a simple manner; there are no majuscular nor minuscular letters. The sections are not indicated as in our present Hebrew Bibles by פפפ, but the word is printed פרישה. It was printed by Joseph Chajim of Strassburg, at the expense of Joseph ben Abraham Caravitta. *Mem finale* and *Samech* look very much alike. The text is very correct, and when compared with Van der Hooght's, the latter seems to be a reprint of this Pentateuch.

The harmony of this Pentateuch with that found in Van der Hooght's edition, is of the utmost importance for the printed text. In the first place, it corroborates the fact, that prior to the year 1520 the beginning had already been made for printing the Hebrew text according to recent MSS. and Massorah; in the second place, we must admit, that all variations which are found in the Pentateuch, printed at Soncino in 1488, and which is a reprint of our Pentateuch, are nothing but a negligence of printer and corrector, in so far as these variations are not supported by the Massorah, and hence cannot be regarded as a testimony against the Massoretic text. In the third place, we see that all MSS. and editions which were prepared by Jews, are of the utmost correctness, and that the variations are nothing but an oversight of either the copyist or printer.

At the end there is a Hebrew epigraph, which reads thus in English: "I, Joseph Chajim, son of R. Aaron (of blessed memory) Strassburg, a Frenchman, have regarded this commendable undertaking, to print the Pentateuch with the Chaldee and Rashi's commentary in one volume, as a God-pleasing work, and was especially careful to give Rashi's exposition in its original completeness, in such a manner, that whilst before, the student had a good deal of trouble, he may now be assured to have before him instead of the former dark words, caused by many mistakes of the copyist, pure and sweet ones. Besides, I have encouraged those, who undertook this work, and who were yet undecided whether to carry it out or not, because it was a divine work. In order to carry out this commendable work, viz., the printing of the Pentateuch with the Chaldee and Rashi in one volume in the most correct and desirable manner, God inclined the heart of the noble, intelligent and learned Mr. Joseph Caravitta to undertake the publication of the whole work, who also procured all necessary materials, engaged able type-founders, skillful compositors and experienced correctors for the sake of having a Pentateuch correct concerning the *plene* and *defective*, *read* and *not written*, *written* and *not read*, vowels and accents, and the Chaldee put where it belongs, and Rashi's commentary above and below.

He also appointed a man skilled in typography, the square letters and the Hebrew language, the peerless and famous master Abraham Chajim, of Pesaro, and thus the work was completed on Friday, the fifth day of the first Adar, in the year of the world 5222, at Bologna. Every purchaser of these books will be praised, the reader of the same will see many days and much seed, fulfill the will of God and bring life and peace over Israel. Amen."

In many instances the readings of the Book of Genesis agree with those found in the critical edition of Baer & Delitzsch (Leipzig, 1869).

3. *Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Lamentations, and Esther*

with Rashi's commentary on the first four, and Aben Ezra's on the last book, fol. sine anno et loco (but probably Bologna, 1482).

This edition has the same types as that of the Pentateuch of 1482, and is printed on 27 leaves of parchment. But the print differs from that of the Pentateuch, in that the sheets are numbered; here and there letters are omitted, and sometimes smaller types are used for larger ones. Over the text, the title of the book is printed on each page; above and below the text, the commentary is given; **אלהים** is printed **אלרים**; **יהוה** is printed **יהיה**. De Rossi in his *De ignotis nonnullis antiquissimis Hebr. textus editionibus* (Erlangae, 1782), noted some variations, which he found in his copy. Thus the *Keri* is expressed in the text in Ruth 2:1; 3:3, 5, 14, 17; Lamentations 5:1, 3, 5, 7, etc. The word **ליני** is written Ruth 3:13 with a *minuscular lamed*, and Lamentations 5:5 the reading is **צוארני** against **צוארנו** of Van der Hooght.

4. *The Earlier and Later Prophets*

i. e. Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the twelve Minor Prophets, with Kimchi's commentary, fol., 2 vols. Soncino, 1485-1486.

Each book is here printed separate, none has a title, but the first page is not printed. On the first page of the last folio of the first volume, the following epigraph is printed, which runs thus in English. The compositor says: "There is at Soncino an accurate and nice Bible-printing establishment. In order that the four earlier prophets, viz., Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings, which must be regarded as a Deuteronomy, because herein is contained a true narrative, given by these prophets concerning the state of our nation since their times, as well as a guide for the explanation of the great part of tradition, since they are those who received the oral law from Moses and the elders; and through them it was transmitted from prophet to prophet down to Ezra and the men of the Great Synagogue, might be added to the Pentateuch, especially for the benefit of pupils, that they may know them after having studied the law of Moses—we deemed it well to print them together with the commentary of the most celebrated and greatest linguist and interpreter, R. Kimchi. And whereas only one witness is required

for that which is hidden, especially when the good condition of a book is otherwise known, we will only proffer one witness as to the correct print. And we hereby assure all those who have no time to examine this edition as to its intrinsic merits, that it has been corrected by experienced scholars, and that no mistake, be it small or great, has been made, which might change either the sense or the words. What one, who examines it, may find, is the interchange of some letters like ה and ח, כ and ב etc.; because the corrector looks more at the sense and whole words, than at single letters, the figures of which look so much alike, and thus he may have overlooked them. In the same manner, sometimes a letter may have been omitted in a word, but these cases are but few, because we have exhibited the utmost care, in order that this volume should be as complete as possible. That in the holy name, viz., in יהוה instead of the first ה אה, and in אלהים, for קה has been placed, was done for the greater honor of the divine name, and because in case sometimes letters in this name should be transposed or lost, it would matter nothing.

And yet, we have no doubt, that no manuscript, written with a pen, can be compared with our book, as far as correctness is concerned. And even if we had many of the most correct and finest MSS., and students should have studied them for years, even these would not be free from smaller or greater mistakes. For truly an edition, without any mistakes is a wonder. The completion of this work was done in the year of the world 5246 [i. e. A. D. 1468] on the 6th of Marheshvan, here at Soncino, Lombardy, which city is under the rule of the powerful duke of Milan, whom God may preserve. Blessed be he that giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might, he increaseth strength. His name be exalted above all praise and glory!"

The whole comprises 459 leaves. The first word in Joshua, Judges and Samuel (ויהי) is printed in large letters; in the greater and Minor Prophets, the first word is wanting, but a large space is left. Neither pages nor folios, chapters or verses are numbered; above the text, the name of the book is printed. Each page is divided into two columns, the commentary stands below the text. The text has no minuscular nor majuscular letters, and is without vowels and accents. A great many abbreviations are found in the text, especially at the end of a line, when the space was not wide enough for two consonants. Prof. Tychsen has compared and examined a copy, the results he published in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, VIII., p. 5129; but the collection of variations seems not to be complete, since from De Rossi's *Variae Lectiones*, the number can be increased. In some instances the readings agree with the Septuagint. In Joshua we find in ch. 21, vs. 36, 37, not extant in our present editions, although they are found with some variations in the Septuagint. A comparison of the readings found in Isaiah and the Minor Prophets with the edition of these books by Baer & Delitzsch and the *Babylonian Codex* edited by H. Strack, shows that some are very valuable.

Com. Isa. 3:23	והגליונים	Isa. 63:11	רעי
19:13	התעו	64:10	מחמרנו
24: 2	נשא	Hos. 13: 2	כתבונם
36: 2	רב-שקה	Mic. 2: 2	איש
38:14	ארני	6:13	חטאתך
44:24	מי אתי	Zech. 6:10	ומאת טוביה
42: 2	ולא	9:15	והמו
59: 6	מעשי		

5. *The Five Megilloth and the Psalms*

i. e. Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and Esther, with the Machsor (or ritual) of the Italian Jews. Soncino and Casali, 1486, 4to.

6. *Ruth, Canticles, Lamentations and Ecclesiastes*

With the Machsor, *ibid.* De Rossi, *De ignotis nonnullis*, etc., has noted as variations:

Cant. 4:26	לגני	Ruth 3: 9	כנפיק
5: 4	עלי	Eccles. 2:16	בירושלם
8: 3	לראשי	2: 7	שהיה
Ruth 1: 2	בשרי	8:10	וישתבחו
1: 9	שתיהן		

7. *Hagiographa*

Viz., the *Psalms* with Kimchi's commentary; *Proverbs* with Immanuel's (+ 1830) commentary; *Job* with that of Gersonides (+ 1345); *Canticles*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Lamentations*, *Ruth*, *Esther*, *Daniel*, *Ezra* and *Chronicles* with Rashi's commentary, Naples, 1487, 4to.

Each book seems to have been printed and published separately. In a post-script at the end of the Book of *Psalms*, the corrector, Jacob Baruch ben R. Judah Lando, a German, excuses himself for the mistakes which have crept in, but promises to do better in the other books, which were to follow the Book of *Psalms*. The text is printed with square letters and points, but without vowels; the commentaries are printed with rabbinic letters. Before the *Psalms*, and before *Job* and *Canticles*, the first word is always printed with large letters and all kinds of wood-cuts. The *Psalms* occupy 114, *Proverbs* 104, *Job* 48, *Canticles* 8, *Ecclesiastes* 10, *Lamentations* 4, *Ruth* 3, *Esther* 5, *Daniel* 13, *Ezra* 19, and *Chronicles* 38 folios. Various readings may be gathered from De Rossi's *Variae Lectiones*.

Thus all parts of the Bible were printed, before a complete and uniform edition of the whole was issued from the press, viz.,

8. *The Soncino Bible.*

This first and complete Hebrew Bible, with vowel-points and accents, was published at Soncino, in folio, in the year 248 [i. e. A. D. 1488]. This Bible is very rare, and only nine copies are known to be extant, viz., one at Exeter College, Oxford, two at Rome, two at Florence, two at Parma, one at Vienna, and one in the Baden-Durlach library. It has no title, but at the end of the Pentateuch, we find a postscript which seems to have been added after the completion of the 24 books, where it is said "that Joshua Solomon, son of Israel Nathan, had the 24 books finished through the printer Abraham ben Chajim of Bologna, in Soncino in the year 248 [A. D. 1488] on the 11th day of Iyar (i. e. in May).

The Pentateuch is followed by the five Megilloth, in the same order as they stand in Van der Hooght's edition; Nehemiah and Ezra form one book, Samuel, Kings and Chronicles are not divided into two books each, nor the Psalms into five books. The first word of Genesis is printed in large letters, in small letters the first word of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, five Megilloth, Joshua, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Psalms, Proverbs, Jonah, Isaiah, Ezra and Chronicles. Each page has two columns. The text has no Massoretic signs, no majuscular nor minuscular letters. The empty space at the end of the lines is filled up with the first letter of the following word, sometimes with other letters. According to Bruns,¹ the text is full of blunders (*crassissimis abundat vitiis*), and Kennicott² asserts that it contains more than 12,000 variations ("quae una editio ab exemplaribus hodiernis discrepat in locis plus quam 12,000"). How careless the printing was executed may be seen from the fact, that the 16th verse of the 74th psalm was interpolated after the 12th verse of the 89th psalm. The Keris are often incorporated into the text.

Another edition of the entire Bible, has neither date nor place, in folio. De Rossi conjectures that it had appeared also at Soncino. The volume consists of 481 leaves, and the text is divided into two columns. The text is said to be very correct.

The third complete edition is

Gerson's Edition

Published at Brescia, in small quarto, in 1494. This edition is remarkable as being the one from which Luther's German translation was made. According to the fashion of that time, it has no title, but at the end of the book is a Hebrew postscript, in which Gerson introduces himself as a copyist and printer. He then goes on, and speaks of the sad condition of his brethren in exile, of their poverty, which prevents them from buying large-sized books, especially with reference to

¹ Kennicott's *Dissertatio Generalis* ed. Bruns, Brunsvici, 1783, p. 444.

² See the ten annual accounts of the collation of the Hebrew Manuscripts, account X, year 1769, p. 147.

the Bible edition of 1488, and goes on to speak of the reason for publishing his smaller edition. Having stated this and other reasons he then says: "wherefore, have I, Gerson, the son of Moses, called in German Menzeln, girded my loins like a strong man, and perused my knowledge in the work of God and His word, the light of mine eyes. I will now undertake and print the book of twenty and four in small size, that it may be with every one day and night, and that he may not be without it four ells, and that it may be about him when he lieth down and rises up, like the phylacteries, without it he shall not pass the night." Having then spoken of the use of a diligent reading in the law, he continues, "and thus this incomparable work was completed—the universe is filled with the glory of the Highest—in the year 254 at Brescia, which belongs to the dominion of Venice, whose glory God may confirm and exalt," etc. etc.

The whole consists of five parts. The first contains the Pentateuch. The first words of the same as well as those of the five Megilloth are omitted in the print, but have been added in some copies with red color. The single books of the Pentateuch are not marked by their names, but over each column the name of the parashioth (i. e. weekly sections) is given, which agree with the present division. At the end of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, the word חזק i. e. "be strong" is printed; at the end of Numbers, besides the words חזק ונתחזק (i. e. "be strong and let us strengthen ourselves,") which are also repeated at the end of Deuteronomy, the number of verses of that book (i. e. of Numbers) is also given as 1288 (סך פסוקי דספרא ארפה).

The second part contains the five Megilloth; at the end of Lamentations, verse 21 of the 5th chapter, is printed

השיבנו יהור אליך ונשוב חרש ימינו כקדם

The third part contains the earlier prophets (Joshua-Kings), the fourth the later prophets (Isaiah-Malachi), and the fifth the Hagiographa. Each page of the Psalms contains two columns, and a number of Psalms is given in Hebrew letters. Psalms 90 and 91 being counted as one, the last Psalm is numbered קמט i. e. 149. At the end of Daniel we find the following: "Daniel has 357 verses and 7 sections. The middle words of the books are הרגשו ושבחן (Dan. 6:12). Ezra and Nehemiah form one book. The Keri is not given in the margin, but generally in the text. The unusual letters are not distinguished. In Num. 10:35 the *inverted Nun* is found; Isa. 9:6 and Neh. 2:13 have extraordinary letters. The name of God is printed יהור and אלדים; the word ישחקן in Genesis 33:4 we find with the *puncta extraordinaria*. Josh. 21:36, 37 which is omitted in many editions, is found here. The printing is in small letters and difficult to read; *daleth* and *resh* can hardly be distinguished from each other. *Opitz* in the preface to his Hebrew Bible, regards this edition as very accurate, but Benjamin W. D. Schulze, who has more carefully examined the copy, which Luther perused

for his translation, and which is preserved at the Royal Library at Berlin, thinks not so very highly of this edition,¹ which has many various readings. As it cannot historically be proved that for the edition of this Bible, MSS. have been used, and since on the contrary in its *lectionibus singularibus* it agrees with the edition of Soncino, 1488, it is very probable that it was reprinted from the Soncinian edition.

These are the editions of the entire Old Testament, which belong to the fifteenth century. The editions, which were published in the following centuries, are mainly taken from one of the three main sources, the *Complutensian Bible*, the *Soncinian* text of 1488 and *Bomberg's*, 1525. There is, however, a fourth class, which contain a mixed text, composed of many old editions.

I. THE FIRST MAIN RECENSION.

A. The Complutensian Text, or

Biblio Sacra Polyglotta, complectentia Vetus Testamentum, Hebraico, Chaldaico, Graeco et Latino idiomate, Novum Testamentum Graecum et Latinum, et vocabularium Hebraicum et Chaldaicum, cum grammatica Hebraica, nec non dictionario Graeco. De mandato et sumptibus Reverendissimi in Christo Patris Domini, Domini Francisci Ximenis de Cieneros, tituli sancte Balbinae, sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae presbyteri Cardinalis, et Hispaniarum primatiae ac regnorum Castelle Archicancellarii, Archiepiscopi Toletani, etc., etc. 6 vols. fol. In Complutensi Universitate. 1514–1517.

This splendid Polyglot was executed by the order and at the expense (50,000 ducats) of Cardinal Ximenes at Alcala de Henares = the Roman *Complutum*, whence the Polyglot derives the appellation *Complutensian*. The men who aided and assisted the Cardinal in this his undertaking, which immortalized his name, were Demetrius Ducas, Aelius Antonius Nebrissensis, Lopez de Stunica, Ferdinand Pintianus, Alphonsus de Zamora, Paulus Coronellus, et Johannes de Vergera (the last three converted Jews) and others.

The printing of the work was commenced in 1502, and completed in 1517, but the work was not published until 1522, when it received the sanction of Pope Leo X.

The work is divided into six volumes with the following contents :

a. The *first volume* contains the Pentateuch in Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, and Latin. The Hebrew text, which has the vowel-points, but not the accents, occupies the outside of three columns, the Sept. with an interlineary Latin translation occupies the inside column, indicating that just as Christ was crucified between two thieves, so the Roman Church, represented by St. Jerome's version,

¹ *Vollständigere Kritik über die gewöhnlichen Ausgaben der Hebr. Bibel, nebst einer zuverlässigen Nachricht von der hebräischen Bibel die der selige Dr. Luther bei seiner Uebersetzung gebraucht, Berlin, 1766.*

is crucified between the synagogue represented by the Hebrew text, and the Eastern Church, denoted by the Greek version.¹ At the lower part of the page are two smaller columns, one containing the Chaldee paraphrase and the other a Latin translation of it. This volume is preceded by

- 1, St. Jerome's Preface to the Pentateuch;
- 2, The Bull of Leo X., permitting the circulation of the work;
- 3, Addresses to the reader by Francis, bishop of Abyla, and Francis of Mendoza, archdeacon of Pedroche;
- 4, The dedicatory epistle of Cardinal Ximenes to Leo X.;
- 5, An address to the reader about the language of the O. T.;
- 6, A treatise on finding the roots of the Hebrew words;
- 7, An introduction to the N. T.;
- 8, An introduction to the Hebrew and Chaldee lexicon and Hebrew Grammar, as well as to the interpretation of proper names;
- 9, On the manner of studying the Scriptures;
- 10, Epistle of St. Jerome to Paul the Presbyter about the history of the sacred books. At the end of the volume are two leaves of errata.

b. The *second volume* contains Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles and the Prayer of Manasseh. In this as in the two remaining volumes the Chaldee paraphrase and the Latin translation of it are omitted.

c. The *third volume* contains Ezra, Nehemiah, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Wisdom and Ecclesiastes.

d. The *fourth volume* contains Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel with the additions, the Minor Prophets, and the Maccabees.

e. The *fifth volume* contains the whole N. T. in Greek and Latin (Vulgate) in two columns. A letter of reference connects the Greek and Latin texts verbally together, as will be seen from the following specimen of Matt. 26:1:

καὶ ἐγενετο ὅτε ἐτέλευσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους	Et factum est cum consummasset Jesus sermones hos omnes
--	--

When there is anything in the one to which there is nothing in the other to correspond, a hyphen or circles are used to fill up the vacant space, in order that the student may easily see whether the Latin translation has always corresponding words to the Greek original.

The volume is preceded by

- 1, A Greek address to the reader with a Latin translation;
 - 2, A Greek epistle of Eusebius;
 - 3, St. Jerome's Prologue on the four Evangelists addressed to Pope Damasus.
- At the end of the volume is the date: annus MDXIV., diesque X. Januarii.

¹ "Posuimus, tanquam duos hinc et inde latrones, medium autem Jesum, hoc est Romanam ecclesiam collocantes. Haec enim sola supra firmam petram aedificata, reliquis a recta scripturae intelligentia deviantibus, immobilis semper in veritate permansit."

f. The *sixth volume* contains:

- 1, A Hebrew and Chaldee vocabulary of the O. T., dated March 17, 1515;
- 2, An explanation of the Hebrew, Chaldee and Greek proper names of the O. and N. T., in alphabetical order, whereunto is added a list of names according to the various readings;
- 3, An introduction to the Hebrew Grammar, dated May 1515;
- 4, An alphabetical Index of the Latin words which occur in the work;
- 5, A Greek and Latin Lexicon;
- 6, An introduction to the Greek Grammar;
- 7, An explanation of the Hebrew, Greek, and Chaldee names, which occur in the N. T.

This volume is almost entirely the work of Zamora. On each title-page the following verses are printed:

Haec tibi pentadecas tetragonon respicit illud
Hospitium, petri et pauli ter quinque dierum.
Namque instrumentum vetus hebdoas innuit: octo
Lex nova signatur, ter quinque receptat utrumque.

When with the aid of the most learned converted Jews and Christians that Spain could produce, the last sheet of this magnificent Polyglot was finished in 1517, after spending over it fifteen years of incessant labor and fifty thousand ducats, John Broccario, the son of Arnold S. Broccario, the printer, then a child, was dressed in his best attire and went with a copy to the cardinal. The latter, as he took it up, raised his eyes to heaven and devoutly offered up his thanks to the Saviour for being spared to see the completion of this good work, which had cost him so much labor and anxiety. ("Grates tibi ago summe Christe, quod rem magnopere a me curatam ad optatum finem produeris.") Then turning to those who surrounded him, Ximenes said, that "of all the acts which distinguished his administration, there was none, however arduous, better entitled to their congratulation than this" ("equidem cum multa ardua et difficilia reipublicae causa hactenus gesserim, nihil est, amici, de quo mihi magis gratulari debeatis, quam de hac biblicorum editione, quae una sacros religionis nostrae fontes tempore per quam necessario aperit: unde multo purior theologica disciplina haurietur, quam a rivis postea deductis"). Ximenes died a few months after the completion of his work, November 8, 1517, aged 81.

As to the MSS. used in compiling the texts of the Hebrew Scriptures—the so-called Chaldee Paraphrases of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, the Sept., the Greek of the N. T., and the Vulgate—these have as yet eluded the research of critics. The Hebrew text of the Old Testament and the Chaldee of the Pentateuch had already been published several times, both in parts and as a whole, before the appearance of the Polyglot. It was, therefore, not unlikely that the editors should resort to such MSS., though it is stated by Alvarez Gomez (*de gestis Franc.*

Ximenii; Compluti 1569, fol. lib. II., p. 47) "septem Hebraea exemplaria, quae nunc Compluti habentur, quatuor millibus aureorum ex diversis regionibus sibi comparasse." Besides the Hebrew and Chaldee texts of the Complutensian Polyglot with the exception of a few variations, agree with those of the former and later editions, which shows that the editors depended upon the printed texts. The same is the case with the text of the Vulgate which had repeatedly been published before. It is the texts of the Septuagint and of the Greek N. T. which appeared for the first time in this Polyglot, and for which of course MSS. had to be used. And, indeed, though the editors, in accordance with the custom of that time, do not describe the MSS., they distinctly declare that "ordinary copies were not the archetypes for this impression, but very ancient and correct ones; and of such antiquity that it would be utterly wrong not to own their authority; which the supreme pontiff, Leo X., our most holy father in Christ, and lord, desiring to favor this undertaking sent from the apostolical library to the most reverend lord the Cardinal of Spain, by whose authority and commandment we have had this work printed." (Preface to the N. T.¹) The same declaration is made by Cardinal Ximenes himself, who says in his dedication to Pope Leo X.: "For Greek copies indeed we are indebted to your Holiness, who sent us most kindly from the apostolical library very ancient codices of both of the Old and the New Testament, which have aided us very much in this undertaking.² That Greek MSS., both of the Old and the New Testament, were furnished from the Vatican library is moreover corroborated by the fact that though all the MSS. which formerly belonged to Cardinal Ximenes, and which comprised almost all the MS. materials used in the Polyglot, are still safely preserved in the library at Madrid, to which place they have been transferred from Alcala, yet no MSS. exist in this collection of the Sept. on the Pentateuch, or of the Greek N. T., thus showing that they did not belong to the Cardinal, and that they were restored again to the Vatican after the completion of the work. Indeed the two Greek MSS. of the Septuagint which Ximenes got from Leo are now ascertained, as has been shown by Fr. Vercellone in his Preface to Card. Mai's edition of Codex B. Vercellone also mentions the fact that Codex B is missing in catalogues of the Vatican Library made in 1518, which seems to favor the supposition that the editors of the Polyglot had it.

The Complutensian Polyglot³ was followed by the Heidelberg or Bertram's Polyglott, erroneously called the Polyglot of Vatablus or

¹ "Illud lectorem non lateat non quaevis exemplaria impressioni huius archetypa fuisse, sed antiquissima emendatissimaque ac tantae praetera vetustatis ut fidem eis abrogare nefas videatur quae sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus noster Leo X. pontifex maximus huius instituto favere cupiens ex Apostolica Bibliotheca educta misit."

² "Atque ex ipsis quidem Graeca sanctitati tuae debemus, qui ex ista Apostolica Bibliotheca antiquissimos tum Veteris tum Novi Testamenti codices perquam humane ad nos misisti: qui nobis in hoc negotio maximo fuerunt adjumento."

³ As to the critical value of its Hebrew text, comp. Delitzsch *Complutensische Varianten zum Alttestamentlichen Texte*, Leipzig, 1878.

Sacra Biblia Hebraice, Graece et Latine . . . omnia cum editione Complutensi diligenter collata . . . Ex officina Sanctandreae 1586, 3 vols. fol.

This edition was republished twice, but only with a new title page, viz., *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Graece et Latine . . .* Ex officina Commeliana 1599, 3 vols. fol., and 1616, 3 vols. fol.

II. THE SECOND MAIN RECENSION.

B. The Soncinian Text of 1488.

The editions which were based on this text, are:

1. *Biblia Rabbinica Bombergiana I.*

Curavit Felix Pratensis, four parts, Venice, 1517–18, fol., or: The Four and Twenty (books): the Pentateuch with the Chaldee of Onkelos¹ and Rashi's² commentary; the Earlier and Later Prophets with the Chaldee of Jonathan and the commentary of D. Kimchi;³ the Psalms with the Chaldee of Rabbi Joseph and the commentary *Kavvenaki*;⁴ Job with the Chaldee of R. Joseph and the commentary of Nachmanides⁵ and that of Abraham Farissol;⁶ the Five Megilloth (i. e. Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther) with the Chaldee of R. Joseph and Rashi's commentary; Daniel with Gersonides'⁷ commentary; Ezra with the commentaries of Rashi and S. Darshon; Chronicles with the same commentaries. Besides it contains the Jerusalem Targum⁸ on the Pentateuch and the Second Targum to Esther,⁹ together with a guide to the knowledge of the accents, and the variations between Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali in the Pentateuch, with other nice things [as a table of the Sabbath lessons according to the Spanish and German rites; the 13 articles of faith of Maimonides, the 613 precepts according to Abr. Ibn Hassan, the Levite and a treatise of Aaron ben Asher on the accents], printed with great care by Daniel Bomberg of Antwerp, at Venice." Folio.

At the end of Chronicles the date is given in Hebrew, which runs in English: in the year 278 according to the smaller computation, on the 27th day of Kislev (i. e. November 27, A. D. 1518); blessed be that giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might he increaseth strength."

The Latin dedication of the editor *Felix Pratensis* to pope Leo X., is dated A. D. 1517, when the printing was commenced, which was not finished until the next year.

¹ For this and the other Chaldee paraphrases see Pick, art. *Targum* in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop., and Volek—Pick in Schaff-Herzog Encyclop.

² Comp. my art. *Rashi* in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop.

³ Comp. art. *Kimchi*, D., *ibid.* A new edition of this commentary, extending over the first book of Psalms, has been published by Prof. Schiller-Szinessy, Cambridge, 1883.

⁴ By Shalom ben Abraham. Also reprinted in Frankfurter's Rabbinic Bible.

⁵ For his life and works see my art. *Nachmanides* in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop.

⁶ Comp. that art. in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop.

⁷ See my art. s. v. *Rabbi* in McClintock, l. c.

⁸ See art. *Targum*, l. c.

In this edition the first effort was made to give some of the Massoretic apparatus. The Hebrew text is for the greatest part that of Soncino from the year 1488. In the margin besides the *Kerîs*, different variations are given, which the editor collected from MSS. The anti-Christian passages, especially those in Kimchi's commentary are omitted. This edition, which has a fine print, is very rare now.

The Jews, however, were not very much pleased with this edition; in the first place the text was printed without respect to Massoretic notes concerning the extraordinary letters, which the Jews believed to contain some hidden mysteries; in the second place the Massoretic apparatus contained more disorder than order and was full of many blunders. No less a scholar than Levita raised his voice against this edition by saying: "Let me, therefore, warn and caution every one who reads the folio or quarto editions of the four and twenty books published here, in Venice, in the year 278 (= 1517) to pay no attention to the false remarks printed in the margin, in the form of *Kerî* and *Kethiv*, *plene* and *defective*, *Mîlel* and *Mîlra*, and variations in the vowels and accents, or to any of those things which ought not to have been done. The author of them did not know how to distinguish between his right and his left. Not being a Jew, he knew nothing about the nature of the Massorah, and what he did put down simply arose from the fact, that he sometimes found variations in the copies which he had before him, and, as he did not know which reading was the correct one, he put down one in the margin, and another in the text. Sometimes, it so happened that he put the correct reading into the text, and the incorrect one into the margin, and sometimes the reverse is the case; thus, he was groping in darkness, like a blind man. Hence they are not to be heeded, for they are confusion worse confounded." (*Massoreth ha Massoreth*, third introduction).

Levita's statement, that the editor was not a Jew, is incorrect, for Felix Pratensis was born a Jew, embraced Christianity in 1513 at Rome, was made in 1523 *magister theologus* and died in 1539.

2. Bomberg's Edition in 4to.

a. The first of these editions was published in 1578. The first part contains the Pentateuch and the Earlier prophets. At the end of the second part the date is given in Hebrew, as follows: this whole holy work was completed in the year 5278 by Daniel Bomberg of Antwerp in Brabant, in the 16th year of the Doge Leonardo Loredano at Venice."

At the end of each part the *Massora finalis* is given. In the margin variations are marked, few only in the Pentateuch, but more in the other books.

b. Three years later a second edition was published under the title: "The Pentateuch printed a second time by Daniel Bomberg of Antwerp, in the year 281 according to the smaller computation, here at Venice. At the end of the work the following postscript is given: "Printed the second time very carefully by the

brothers, the sons of Baruch Adelkind, in the month of Elul in the year 281 (i. e. 1521), at the order and in the house of D. Bomberg."

This edition, like the former, is based upon Gerson's, with some variations, derived from other sources.

c. The third edition was commenced in the year 1525, but was not completed till 1528 according to the postscript at the end. The first is a reprint of the second edition, the second part, however, aside from the variations in the vowel-points and accents, has many other variations.

d. The fourth edition is said to have been published in the year 294 (i. e. 1533). That is all that is known of this edition. But that it was really published, can be seen from the title of the following.

e. The fifth edition: i. e. Pentateuch printed the fifth time in the house of Daniel Bomberg of Antwerp, in the year 395 (i. e. 1544) at Venice. The text is the same as that of the third edition; all editions, however, have a clear, black and correct type.

3. *Muenster's Editions.*

a. The edition which has the Hebrew text only, was published at Basle in 1536, 2 vols. 4to, under the title:

אַרְבַּעַּה וְעֶשְׂרִים

i. e. *The Four and Twenty*, printed at the order of Jerome Froben and Nicolaus Episcopius, whom their Rock and Saviour may keep, here at Basle, the great city, in the year 296 according to the small computation. Froben. Basileae anno MDXXXVI.

A Hebrew postscript runs thus in English: "This book, the four and twenty, has been completed here, in the city of Basle, in the house of the printer Jerome Froben, by Sebastian Münster, with great diligence in the year 5296, in the month of Elul. Praise and honor be to the highest God, who has hitherto strengthened our hands, and has given us strength from the beginning to the end!"

The whole consists of four parts, viz.:

The first, the Pentateuch divided according to sections. The first word of each book is printed with large letters; at the end the *Masora finalis* is given; the *second part*, commencing with page 309, contains Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings; the *third part* contains Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the minor prophets, and the *fourth part* the Hagiographa. Each book is followed by the *Masora finalis*. The number of chapters is given in the margin with rabbinic letters.

At the end an appendix is given: *Sebast. Munsterus ad hebraeae linguae studiosos*. "Appendix ista quam sacris hebr. bibliis vides a nobis adjectam, amice lector, tria haec complectitur: Judaicarum lectionum initia, quas ex lege Mosaica et ex prophetis singulis sabbathis per annum in suis populo praelegunt Synagogis, quarum priorem פְּרָשָׁה et posteriorem הַפְטָרָה vocant, copulatque

alteri alteram : Deinde quae dictiones biblicae in diversis exemplaribus variam lectionem, aut etiam omnimodam mutationem habere deprehenduntur. Et tertio erratula quaedam, quae vel visum meum fugerunt, aut per praeli moderatores transpositione typorum irrepserunt....Diversam quoque lectionem omnium dictionum, quae ab Hebraeis sunt observatae, non signavimus, sed eam dumtaxat diversitatem, in qua pondus aliquod esse conspeximus.—Et ut rationem aliquam habeas totius diversitatis, notabis aliquando redundare unam litteram, aliquando unam detractam, nonnunquam duas transpositas, interdum unam commutatam in aliam : aliquando videbis dictionem unam redundare, et rursus unam quandoque deficere. Fit etiam ut non raro dictio aliqua aliter scribatur et aliqua legatur, aut in diversis exemplaribus diversam sortita sit punctationem. Porro omnes diversitates illas, quae vel in litteris, vel in punctis, vel in dictionibus passim per sacros occurrunt libros, more Hebraeorum signavimus notulo cifrae, sive o parvi, collocati supra dictionem, et aliquando ubi defectus est dictionis intra contextum, id quod lectio ipsa te docebit.”

This edition is also very rare, and valuable on account of a collection of various readings, partly from manuscripts, which must have been collected by a Jewish editor.

b. Editions which besides the Hebrew have also a Latin translation :

The first of these editions was published in 1534, fol. in two parts, which have special titles. That of the first is as follows :

“The sanctuary of the Lord : the 24 books of the Holy Writ with a Latin translation and a short explanation of the difficult and intelligible passages. Printed here at Basle under the care of S(ebastian) M(ünster) with the help of God.”

“En tibi Lector Hebraica Biblia, latina planeque nova Sebast. Münsteri tralatione, post omnes omnium hactenus ubivis gentium aeditiones evulgata, et quoad fieri potuit, hebraicae veritati conformata : adjectis insuper e Rabbiorum commentariis annotationibus haud poenitendis, pulchre et voces ambiguas et obscuriora quaeque elucidantibus. Prior hic tomus habet Mosaicos libros quinque Jehosuam, Judicum, Samuelis libros duos, Regum lib duos :” Basileae, 1534.

The title of the second part is :

“The treasury of salvation : the Book of the later prophets, the Hagiographa, the five Megilloth together with a short explanation of the difficult words and difficult verses. Basle by Sebastian Münster.”

“Veteris Testamenti Tomus secundus, Prophetarum oracula atque Hagiographa continens, hoc est Prophetas majores et minores, Psalterium, Iob, Proverbia, Daniele, Annalium libros duos, Canticum Canticorum, Ruth, Threnos, Ecclesiasten, Esther. Hi sacri et canonici libri, amice Lector, sic ad hebraicam veritatem genuina versione in latinum sunt traducti, ut ne quidem ad latum unguem ab eo dissideant. Quibus praeterea in locis et sententiis obscurioribus

opera Sebastiani Münsteri non parum accessit lucis per annotationes, quas vel ex Hebraeorum commentariis, vel ex probatoribus latinis scriptoribus adjecit." Basileae MD.XXXV.—At the end, however, of that part is printed: Basileae ex officina Bebeliana, impendiis Michaelis Isengrinii et Henrici Petri. 1535.

The title is followed by a Hebrew and Latin preface. Then comes (1) *Praefatio in Vetus Testamentum*, which speaks of the difficulties which at present the reader finds in the O. T.; (2) *Hebraeorum commentarii non contemnendi*, in which the use of the Jewish commentators is recommended; (3) *qua ratione consiliove haec facta sit editio*; (4) *de canonicis libris V. T. et eorum ordine*; (5) *quo studio sint legendi libri V. T.* We are not told which text Münster used in this edition; but in comparing the two oldest editions of the O. T., that of 1488 and of 1494, it will be easily perceived, that Münster's edition followed them. In this edition the minor accents, as well as the letters, which are perused in other editions to indicate the division according to Parashioth [i. e. sections], and Haphtaroth [i. e. prophetic lessons], are omitted in the Hebrew text.¹ At the end of the Pentateuch a Hebrew eulogy on Moses is printed.

The Second Hebrew-Latin, or Münster's third edition was published in 1546, fol., 2 vols. The Hebrew title is the same as in the first edition, and so likewise the Latin for the most part.

As for the relation of these editions to Van der Hooght, there are 487 instances in which M (Münster) 1. 2. 3. agree against Van der Hooght.

21	"	"	M 1.	agrees with	"	"	"
315	"	"	M 2.	"	"	"	"
4	"	"	M 3.	"	"	"	"

4. Robert Stephen's (*Etienne's*) First Edition.

The first edition which was published, Paris 1534-44, 4 vols., large 8vo, was not published as a whole, but in parts, each having a title. The first part which was published was,

a. *Prophetia Isaiae*. Parisiis, ex officina Roberti Stephani, Typographi Regii. MDXXXIX. Cum privilegio regis.

¹ "Inprimis noveris (says Münster in the treatise No. 3, "qua ratione," etc.), Hebraica in hoc libro haud secus posita, quam in Judæorum inveniuntur codicibus scripta, nisi quod ea amputanda censuimus, quae Judaicis inserviunt ceremoniis et superstitionibus, utpote distinctiones magnas, quas ipsi פְּרָשְׁיֹת vocant, ut sunt אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת istae sunt generationes Noah, וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה et dixit Dominus ad Abram, etc., quas ipsi legunt in synagogis suis per singula sabbata, donec in anni spatio totum compleverint Pentateuchum. Simili fere ordine distinxerunt Prophetas majores et minores, vocantque sectiones istas הַפְּסָקִים, quas legunt sabbato in templis, ut Parsioth. Denique literas Samech et Pe, quas intra Mosaicum contextum quidam libri habent scriptas, veluti Judæorum figmentum reseuimus, quiddid ipsi dicant de traditione Moysi et Esrae. Ajunt autem, Samech significare סְתוּמָה, spatium clausum, et Pe פְּתוּחָה, spatium apertum et liberum. Accentus praecipuos, i. e. qui sententiam in membra et subdistinctiones dividunt, non emisimus, reliquos vero veluti parergos negleximus, praesertim cum et Judaei ipsi fateantur, se propter peccata sua ignorare vires particulares accentuum."

b. *Duodecim Prophetæ*, *ibid.*

In Hosea, by a mistake of the compositor, chap. 5:8-7:14 are transposed.

c. *Psalterium*, etc. MDXL.

d. *Proverbia Salomonis*, etc. *Ibid.*

e. *Prophetia Jeremiae*, etc. *Ibid.*

f. *Daniel*, etc. *Ibid.*

g. *Quinque libri Judæorum Festivales, Canticum Canticorum, Ruth, Lamentationes, Ecclesiastes et Esther*, etc. *Ibid.* (with a new title page and date, 1555).

h. *Job*, etc. MDXLI.

i. *Esdras*, etc. *Ibid.*, also containing Nehemiah, though it is not mentioned in the title.

k. *Ezekiel*, etc. *Ibid.*

l. *Liber Paralipomenon*, etc. MDXLIII.

m. *Prophetæ Priores* (i. e. Josua, Judicum liber. Samuel, Regum II), etc. *Ibid.*

n. *Liber Genesis* (or rather the Pentateuch), etc. *Ibid.*

Richard Simon (*Histoire Critique des V. T.* p. 513) makes the following remark on this edition: "Si l'on a égard à la beauté des caractères il n'y a gueres de Bibles qui approchent de celle de Robert Estienne *in quarto*, au moins d'une partie de cette Bible; mais elle n'est pas fort correcte." The same is confirmed by Carpzov (*Critica Sacra*, p. 421): "plurimis autem scatere vitiis, non in punctis modo, sed etiam in literis, imo in integris nonnunquam vocibusprehenditur," etc., and Samuel Ockley in his *Introduct. ad linguas Orient.*, cap. II., p. 34, says: "Haec Roberti Stephani editio pulchris quidem characteribus est impressa... sed pluribus mendis scatet, quæ libri pulcherrimi nitorem turpiter foedarunt."

III. THE THIRD MAIN RECENSION.

The Bombergian Text of 1525.

A new recension of the text, which has had more influence than any, on the text of later times, was

C. Bomberg's second edition of the Rabbinic Bible,

Edited by Jacob ben Chayim, 4 vols. fol., Venice 1525-1526, under the title: **שער יהוה הקדש**.... "The holy Gate of the Lord.... with great diligence and all possible care, printed at the order of Daniel, whom God may preserve, the son of Cornelius Bomberg of blessed memory, here in the city of Venice, by the help of God." The title page of the first volume has also the passage from Prov. 7:16-18; on the title page of the second volume are the passages Deut. 28:12, Hosea 12:11 and Amos 3:7, besides the date of the printing, "the beginning of the work is made to-day, the 25th day of Kislev (November) in the year 285 (i. e. 1525)." On the title page of the third volume, the passages Lev. 19:2; Ps. 37:29-31 are

printed; that of the fourth volume contains the passages Ps. 119:165; 101:1; 100:4. At the end the year of completion is given: "The work was completed on the 24th of Tishri, in the year 286, according to the smaller computation (i. e. 1526).

A. The first volume, which embraces the Pentateuch, begins:

a. With the elaborate introduction of Jacob ben Chayim, in which he treats (1) on the origin of the *Keri* and the *Kethiv*; (2) on the differences which in many places exist between the Talmud and the Massorites; (3) on certain passages, which are claimed by the heretics to have been wilfully altered and changed, and (4) on the plan adopted, both in the Massorah parva and the Massorah magna.

b. An index of the sections of the entire Old Testament according to the Massorah;

c. An index of the chapters of the entire Old Testament;

d. Aben Ezra's Introduction to the Pentateuch, treating on the five different modes of interpretation.¹

e. The Pentateuch in Hebrew with the Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos and Jonathan, and the commentaries of Rashi and Aben Ezra,² the margins being filled up with as much of the Massorah as they would admit (hence called *Massorah marginalis*).³

B. The second volume contains the earlier prophets (i. e. Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings) in Hebrew, the Chaldee of Jonathan, the commentaries of Kimchi⁴ and Levi ben Gerson or Gersonides.

C. The third volume contains the later prophets (i. e. Isaiah to Malachi, with the exception of Daniel and Lamentations) in Hebrew, the Chaldee of Jonathan, the commentaries of Rashi and Aben Ezra on Isaiah, Rashi and Kimchi on Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and Rashi and Aben Ezra on the Minor Prophets.

D. The fourth volume comprises the Hagiographa (i. e. Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah and the Chronicles) in Hebrew, with the Chaldee paraphrases of Joseph the Blind; the commentaries of Rashi on the Psalms, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther and Chronicles. Aben Ezra on the Psalms, Job, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther and Daniel; Kimchi's commentaries on the Psalms and Chronicles. Moses Kimchi's⁵ commentaries on Proverbs, Ezra and Nehemiah; Levi ben Gerson on Proverbs and Job; Saadia⁶ on Daniel; the second Targum of Esther. Appended to this volume is:

¹ Comp. Bacher, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Einleitung zu seinem Pentateuch-Commentar*, Vienna, 1876.

² See the art. *Aben Ezra*, in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop.; Schaff-Herzog, *Encyclo. s. v.*

³ Comp. the Strack-Pick, art. *Massora* in Schaff-Herzog's *Encyclop.*

⁴ i. e. David Kimchi.

⁵ Comp. art. *Kimchi Moses* in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop.

⁶ Comp. my art. *Saadia*, *ibidem*.

a. The Massorah, for which space could not be found in the margin of the text in alphabetical order, and which is therefore called the Massora finalis, with Jacob ben Chayim's directions.

b. A treatise on the Points and Accents of the Hebrew Scriptures, embodying the work of Moses the Punctuator.¹

c. The variations between the Western and Eastern Codices, or between the Jerusalem and Babylonian MSS.;

d. The variations between Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali.

This edition was followed by

1. *Robert Stephen's Second Edition in 16mo.*

Like the first edition, this was also published in parts, viz.,

1. Prophetia Isaiae,.....Paris, 1544.

2. " Jeremiae,.....

3. " Ezechielis,.....

4. Duodecim Prophetæ,.....

5. Canticum Canticorum, Ruth, Lamentationes, Jeremiae, Ecclesiastes et Esther, *ibid.*

6. Psalterium,.....Paris, 1545.

7. Proverbia Salomonis et Job.....

8. Daniel et Esdras.....

9. Josue et Judices,.....

10. Quinque Libri Legis.....1546.

2. *Bomberg's third Rabbinical Bible*

Published at Venice, 1547-49, 4 vols. fol. and edited by Cornel. Adelkind.

This third edition, which is in the main a reprint of the second, was published under the title: "Blessed be, that illuminates the eyes, and his latter mercy has been greater than the former, since he inclined the heart of the same man to have this great Bible printed a second time, while yet living, in order to show the people and the noble its beauty and elegance. Here also the end is better than the beginning, because nothing of importance and of any value has been omitted. And these are the contents: First the Pentateuch with the Chaldee.....everything most carefully and minutely reprinted. Second edition, published by Daniel Bomberg, in the year 1548 at Venice. 4 vols. fol." This edition, as has been stated, is a reprint of the second, errors were, however, corrected, and some of the Rabbinical commentaries were replaced by others.

The contents of the four volumes are as follows :

A. The *first* which embraces the Pentateuch begins---

a. With the elaborate introduction of Jacob ben Chayim ;

b. An index of the sections of the O. T. according to Massora ;

¹ Comp. the art. *Moses the Punctuator*, *ibid.*

c. Aben Ezra's Preface to the Pentateuch;

d. The Pentateuch in Hebrew with the Chaldee Paraphrase, the commentaries of Rashi, Ibn Ezra and Jacob b. Asher.

B. The *second* volume contains the earlier prophets, with the Chaldee paraphrase, the commentaries of Rashi, D. Kimchi, Levi b. Gerson, as well as the comments of Isaiah di Trani¹ on Judges and Samuel.

C. The *third* volume embraces the later prophets with the Chaldee paraphrase and the commentaries of Rashi and Kimchi.

D. The *fourth* volume comprises the Hagiographa with the Chaldee paraphrase, the commentaries of Rashi on the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, the Five Megilloth, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles; of Ibn Ezra on the Psalms, Job, the Five Megilloth, Daniel; of Moses Kimchi on Proverbs, Ezra and Nehemiah; of D. Kimchi on Chronicles; of Levi b. Gerson on Proverbs and Job; of Saadia (spurious) on Daniel; the Massorah finalis, etc. as in the second edition.

On comparing this edition with the *editio princeps* of Jacob b. Chayim (ed. II. of Bomberg), it will be seen that in this second edition, which is undoubtedly the best, are omitted Ibn Ezra's commentaries on Isaiah and the Minor Prophets, some portions of the Massorah, etc. whilst the commentary of Jacob b. Asher on the Pentateuch, and Isaiah di Trani's on Judges and Samuel are inserted.

3. *M. A. Justiniani's Editions.*

a. An edition in 4to published at Venice, 1551, by M. A. Justiniani, and edited by Cornel. Adelkind. From the title it will be seen that the work was commenced on the 13th Adar (February) in the year 5311 of the Creation [i. e. 1551]. Each page is written in two columns, the Keri is noted in the margin, and the chapters are marked with Hebrew letters. The edition is nice, the type very distinct, and is the basis of J. de la Rouviere's editions, of which we shall speak further on.

b. *Biblia Hebraica*, 4 vols. in 18mo, Venice, 1552, like the preceding;

c. *Biblia Hebraica*, in 4to, *ibid.*, 1563;

d. *Biblia Hebraica*, in 4to, *ibid.*, 1573.

4. *J. de Gara's Editions.*

a. An edition in 4to, published at Venice in 1566 by J. de Gara. At the end of the work the date of the printing is given in Hebrew, which reads in English, "printed with all care by Joseph Hasan, in the month of Adar in the year 326 [i. e. 1566], in the house of John de Gara, with Bombergian types."

b. An edition in 8vo, published in 1568. Josh. 21:36, 37 are wanting in this edition, the Keri, the number of the chapters and of every fifth verse is noted in the margin. At the end of each book, the *Massora finalis* in rabbinic letters is given.

¹ Comp. my art. *Trani* in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop.

c. A Rabbinic Bible or *Biblia Hebraica Rabbinica*, 4 vols. fol. Venetiis typis Bombergianis per Joan de Gara. Anno שפ"ח = 328 [i. e. 1568].

This edition was carried through the press and corrected by Isaac b. Joseph Salam and Isaac ben Gerson Treves. The correctors remark, at the end of the work, that they have re-inserted in this edition the portion of the Massora, which was omitted in the edition of 1546-48.

Appended to this is the so-called Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch. Wolf in his *Bibliotheca Hebraica*, II. 372 says: "In catalogo quodam Msto Codicum Hebr. Bibl. Bodlej. observatum vidi, quod haec editio opera Genebrardi passim sit castrata in iis, quae contra rem Christianam et praecipue contra Romanos dicuntur," to which Mash (*Bibliotheca Sacra* I. 103), who quotes Wolf, remarks "verum non integram editionem a Genebrardo castrata, et loca nonnulla deleta esse crediderim." Steinschneider, the author of the *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodlejana* col. 37 remarks "sed exemplar tale in Bodlejana non exstat."

d. *Biblia Hebraica*, 8vo, Venice, 1570 with an Italian exposition in rabbinic types.

e. *Biblia Hebraica*, 4to, Venice, 1582.

f. *Biblia Hebraica* cum Commentario R. Salomonis Jarchi. Venice, 1595, 4to.

g. The same edition, " " " " 1607.

5. *Plantin's Manual Editions.*

a. The first edition was published in three different sizes, in 4to (1 vol.); 8vo (2 vols.): 16mo (4 vols). All copies have the same title.

"The Pentateuch printed with great diligence by Christopher Plantin, at the order of Mr. Bomberg, whom God may keep and preserve, in the year 326 [i. e. 1566], in the famous city of Antwerp."

The title of the first part, in all three sizes, is surrounded by columns, in whose upper part, the copies in 4to and 8vo, have the words printed from Ps. 25:10 and round about the columns Josh. 1:18; the copies in 4to have also in the upper and lower part the words forming Ps. 118:23. The copies in 16mo have at the bottom the words from Isa. 51:4, and above the entablement the words from Ps. 34:9.

On the last page of each size the following postscript is printed: "Printed by and in the house of Christopher Plantin, with Bombergian type and letters, and completed in the month of Tebeth [December] in the year 326. Blessed be the Lord, who has not taken from us his grace and has helped us to complete this book without any hindrance and accident."

The meaning of the words in the title, "at the order of Mr. Bomberg," are very unintelligible, as Bomberg died in 1549. The types were called Bombergian, either because they were from Bomberg's office, or because they were made

according to his form. The *Massora finalis* is given to some books only; the margin contains the Keri and number of chapters. Final-letters were not yet used, hence the empty space of a line, contains the first letter of the word commencing the following line. At the end of the fourth part a list of the prophetic sections according to the different rites is given. This first edition of Plantin is highly commended for its rarity and correct print.

b. The second edition was published in 4to in the year 1580. The title is the same as that of the first edition, only the date is different and the words, "at the order of Bomberg," are omitted.

On the last page is the same postscript as in the first, the year is given as 342, but "the month" and "Bombergian type and letters," are omitted.

c. The third edition was published in 8vo, in 1590. With the exception of the date, the title and postscript is the same as that of the second edition.

6. Crato's Editions.

a. *Pentateuchum. Mandato et liberalitate illustrissimi Principis ac Domini Domini Augusti Electoris Saxoniae & excusum.* Vitebergae Typis Zachariae Cratonio Anno 1586, fol. A copy of this rare Bible is preserved at Dresden.

b. An edition published Wittebergae, 1587, 4to. At the end of the book the following postscript is printed: "Printed at the expense of the two brothers John and Conrad Rühl, by Zach. Crato, in the year 347, at Wittenberg.

7. Hartmann's Editions.

a. Like Plantin's, the first edition was published in three different sizes, in 4to (1 vol.); 8vo (2 vols.); 16mo (4 vols.), at Frankfort in 1596, though commenced in 1595.

To some books the *Massora finalis* is given. The Keri and number of chapters is printed on the margin, but neither verses nor pages are numbered.

b. The second edition in 4to was published in 1598.

8. Bragadini's Editions.

a. The first edition was published in 4to and 12mo, at Venice, 1614-1615. The edition in 4to has the date in the title-page as 1613, but at the end the year 1615 is given as the date of completion. The printer is John Cajon, in whose office many Hebrew books have been printed. The type is very clear, but the diacritical point over the *vav* is nowhere observed. The edition in 12mo consists of 4 vols., but is the same as that in 4to. Both were published at J. Bragadini's expense.

b. A Rabbinic Bible, 4 vols. folio, Venice, 1617, 1618, under the title: "The five books of the law from the twenty and four. Great and known is the name in Israel of him, who caused to have the first edition, printed in the house of Bomberg, with the Chaldee, the great and small Masora, commentaries and many

expositions. And now, since by the grace of God it has been printed for the fourth time,¹ it shall not want anything of the former, but other good things should be added. Corrected and improved with all possible care, and printed at Venice, at the order of the noble men, whose names are known, Peter and Lorence Bragadini, in the printing office of John Cajon. The year, our father, our king renew unto us a prosperous year [expressed in numbers $3 + 50 + 5 + 9 + 6 + 2 + 5 = 377$] according to smaller computation." This copy was revised and prepared by the celebrated Leo di Modena.² It contains the Chaldee paraphrase, the Masoras and the Rabbinic commentaries of de Gara's edition. This edition, however, is of less value to the critical student, it being castrated by the Inquisition, under whose censorship it was published, as may be seen from the remark of the censor at the end: *Visto per me Fr. Renato da Mod. a. 1626*.

- c. The second edition of the Hebrew text, was published in 1619, 4to.
- d. The third edition was published in 1628, 4to.
- e. Biblia Hebraica with Italian notes, 1678, 4to.
- f. Biblia Hebraica ad usum Judaeorum, 4to, 1707.
- g. Biblia Hebraica-Venetis nella stamperia Bragadina cum licenza de Superiori, 1730, 4to. Besides the Hebrew text, this edition contains a Spanish commentary, printed in rabbinic letters.

9. J. de la Rouviere's Editions.

The editions which were published by de la Rouviere or Cephas Elon, Geneva, 1618, in 4to, 8vo, and 18mo, are but a reprint of those published by Justiniani, and hence we can pass them over.

IV. THE FOURTH MAIN RECENSION

Or Mixed Texts.

A mixed text formed from B and C is contained in

D. The Antwerp Polyglot.

The Complutensian Polyglot had already become so scarce³ in the middle of the XVith century, that Plantin, a printer of Antwerp, resolved the re-publica-

¹ This is a mistake, since Bragadini's Rabbinic Bible is the fifth and not the fourth.

² Comp. McClintock and Strong's *Cyclop.* s. v.

³ "La rareté de cette édition procède en partie du nombre médiocre d'exemplaires qu'on en a tiré. Le Pape Leon X. l'accompagne d'une bulle datée du 22 de Mars 1520, par laquelle il en permit le débit après la mort du Cardinal Ximenes. Il y détermine à peu près le nombre des copies en ces termes: "Usque ad sexcenta volumina vel amplius impensa ejusdem Franciscl Cardinalis impressa." Or qu'est ce que 600 exemplaires on environ, pour un ouvrage recherché? Ils ne suffisent pas pour les Bibliothèques publiques, d'où ils ne resortent jamais; et combien en restera-t-il pour les particuliers? C'est ce qui a fait, que cette édition étoit déjà *fort rare* avant la fin du seizième siècle, comme *Arias Montanus* le déclare dans le première Preface qu'il a mise à la tête de la fameuse Polyglote imprimée à Anvers chez Plantin en 1569-1572." D. Clem-
ent *Biblioth. Cur.* tom. IV., p. 175.

tion of this work in an enlarged and corrected edition, or rather the publication of a work similar to it. Being unable to carry out the plan at his own expense, Plantin requested the aid of King Philip II. of Spain,¹ which he also obtained at the recommendation of Cardinal Spinosa.² The king also sent one of the most learned priests of Spain, Arias Montanus (so-called from his birthplace *Frexenal de la Sierra*) to Antwerp, to superintend the whole work.³ The success fully justified the selection of Philip or rather of Spinosa, for Arias was the very man for such an undertaking. His assistants and collaborators were: *Guy le Fevre de la Boderie*,⁴ the editor of a Syriac New Testament and his brother *Nicolas*,⁵ the theologians of Louvain, *Augustin Hunnaeus* and *Cornelius of Gouda*; the Jesuit, *John of Harlem*,⁶ and the philologist *Franciscus Rapheleng*.⁷ Besides a large number of literati supported his undertaking. Thus the Cardinal *Sirlet* supplied

¹ "*Christophorus Plantinus, Turonensis, Typographus Antverpianus... ad illorum (Bibliorum) excusationem, cum motu, ut apparet, proprio animum adiecit, nec tamen patrimonii sui sumtus tantae rei sufficere arbitraretur, per idoneos homines apud Philippum II. Hispaniarum Regem obtinuit, ut is impensas sumptuosi operis in se reciperet, et idoneum aliquem, qui impressioni praeset ex Hispania mitteret.*" (Mallinckrot, *de Ortu et Progressu Artis Typographicae*, p. 115).

² This is mentioned by Arias Montanus in the second preface to the first volume of the Polyglot, p. 5: "Cardinali Spinosa, Regii Hispaniae summi consilii et sanctae Inquisitionis praesidi Amplissimo, non parvae sunt habendae gratiae: ejus enim consilio et favore, convocatis etiam ad eam rem praestantissimis viris, Regique a consiliis, Rex noster optimus et sapientissimus, praestantissima haec Biblia inchoari et ad finem perducere voluit." In the same preface, on p. 4, Arias testifies to the fact that the king defrayed all the expenses of this work: "Quicquid in aureo et plane divino hoc munere vobis exhibetur, id totum Philippo, Regis Potentissimi, ac de re literaria, optime meriti cujus mandato nos... huic tanto operi praeuimus... magnificentissimis sumtibus, amplissimae munificentiae, bereque Principe homine dignae liberalitati acceptum referre."

The Theologians of Louvain in their epistle to the king, dated September 30, 1569 also testify to the same fact. "Quum intelligeremus, vestram Regiam Majestatem... jubere, ut sacra Biblia... Christophori Plantini typis imprimerentur, ac ad hujus operis celeritatem et expeditiorem absolutionem ingentem pecuniae vim ad sublevandos typographi sumtus liberaliter offerre, maximam nobis haec res commovit admirationem."

³ "Quamobrem Benedictum Ariam Montanum, Doctorem Theologum, ex aulae nostrae Sacerdotibus isthic cum litteris, et commoda ad eam administrandam rem facultate legare decrevimus."

⁴ *Guidonem Fabricium*... Hebraici idiomatis peritissimum, atque adeo Syriacae linguae insigni cognitione ornatum (quod quidem vel ex ipsa N. Testamenti Syriaci latina interpretatione aperte cognosci potest) non est, quod meis verbis hoc loco commendem" (second preface).

⁵ *Nicolaum Fabricium Guidonis fratrem*, ac potissimum in Hebraica lingua non infeliciter versatum, qui sua diligentia et continuus laboribus, in hoc opere transcribendo, interpretando et corrigendo inter caeteros nobis etiam adjumento fuit huic catalogo merito inserendum duximus" (*ibid.*).

⁶ "In primis autem sacrarum literarum studiosi *Augustino Hunnaeo* et *Cornelio Goudano*, duobus Lovaniensis Gymnasii luminibus, sacrae Theologiae Doctoribus et publicis Professoribus, ac toti rei literariae addictissimis, ingentes habeant gratias; his enim propter insignem eruditionem et sacrarum linguarum non vulgarem cognitionem, optimi Regis mandato, hoc opus evolvendum ac diligenter examinandum, a Lovaniensi academia commissum est. Qui... adhibito ad eam rem *Johanne Harlemio*, Sacrae Theologiae Licentiate, in omni linguarum genere exercitatissimo, S. Scripturae et Hebraicae linguae apud Lovanienses in Societate Jesu Professore suo munere cum summa laude perfuncti sunt" (*ibid.*).

⁷ Maximam vero partem, quae hic diligenter correctae, exornatae, perpolita et elaboratae sunt, *Francisci Raphelengii*, quem sibi generum Plantinus adseivit, summae industriae, incredibili diligentiae, continua sedulitate, perspicaci ingenio et praestanti judicio acceptam referre debeo" (*ibid.*).

them with a collection of readings from various MSS.;¹ *Andreas Dumas* (*Masius*) supplied them with the Chaldee of the former Prophets, Psalms, Ecclesiastes and Ruth, and prepared the *Syriac Dictionary and Grammar* for the Apparatus;² Cardinal *Granvelle* sent a copy of the Vatican codex of the Alexandrian version;³ *Clement*, an English physician, supplied them with a MS. of the Alexandrian version of the Pentateuch from Thomas Morus' library,⁴ and D. Bomberg sent them an old MS. of the Syriac version of the New Testament.⁵ Besides, the University of Alcalá and other persons are honorably mentioned as friends of the undertaking.

The work which was commenced in 1569 was finally completed in 1572, 8 vols. fol. The main title is: *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice Graece et Latine, Philippi II. Reg. Cathol. Pietate et Studio ad Sacrosanctae Ecclesiae usum*. Christophorus Plantinus excudebat Antwerpiae, 1569.

This title is surrounded by a portal, the decorations of which are emblems in praise of the king. The title is followed by two prefaces. The first is superscribed: "*Benedicti Ariae Montani, Hispaniensis, in Sacrorum Bibliorum quadrilinguorum Regiam Editionem, de divinae Scripturae dignitate, linguarum usu, et Catholici Regis consilio Praefatio*;" the second "*Ejusdem Benedicti Ariae Montanialia ad Lectorem Praefatio*. In qua de totius operis usu, dignitate, et apparatu ex ordine disseritur." Then follow on 51 pages a number of letters, approbations, privileges, etc. After this comes the *Pentateuch*, which is contained in the first volume with this special title:

חמשה חומשי תורה
תרגום על אורייתא
PENTATEUCHOS
QUINQUE LIBRI MOYSI.

This title is surrounded by a portal with the inscription above שער בית"י הקדומני, while the sill bears the words from Prov. 21:1, in Hebrew.

The *second volume*, which like the following, has a separate title, contains Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and the Prayer of Manasseh, with the exception of the Chaldee on the Chronicles.

¹ *Strletus* Cardinalis Sacrorum voluminum varias lectiones tanta industria et judicio collegit, et quas sequi, et quas rejicere oporteat, ita docte admonuit, ut merito tanti beneficii immortales gratias amplissima huic viro habere debeas."

² *Ab Andrea Masto*, viro a consiliis et Secretis Ducis Cliviae, plerisque valde doctis annotationibus, et Chaldaica Paraphrasi in priores Prophetas, Psalmos, Ecclesiasten et Ruth, ope Hispani exemplaris a se Romae inventi, et quod maximum est, Dictionario Syriaco cum ejusdem idiomatis doctissimo Grammatica aucti sumus."

³ *Granvellanus* Cardinalis Bibliorum Graecorum exemplaria suis impensis ad Vaticanorum fidem descripta, ac diligentissime collata, ad nos opportune transmisit."

⁴ Est etiam nobis a *Clemente*, Anglo, Philosophiae et Medicinae Doctore, qui in hisce regionibus propter Christianam religionem exulat, exhibitum Pentateuchi Graeci, ex *Thomae Mori* Bibliotheca excellentissimum exemplar."

⁵ *Daniel Bomberius*, paterni tum nominis, tum ingenii haeres, Novi Testamenti antiquissimum exemplar Syriacum Colonia Agrippina ad nos attulit, quod quidem magno nobis fuit usui et commodo."

The *third volume*, Ezra and Nehemiah without the Chaldee, the third and fourth Esdras in Latin, Tobith and Judith according to the Vulgate and LXX.; Esther with the Chaldee, and the additions to Esther in Greek with a Latin translation; Job, Psalms and the canonical books of Solomon with the Chaldee; Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus in Greek with a two-fold Latin translation.

The *fourth volume* contains the prophetical books with the Chaldee, with the exception of Daniel; first, second and third books of Maccabees.

The *fifth volume* contains the New Testament in four columns: the first contains the Syriac version in Syriac types; the second a Latin translation thereof by Guy-le-Fevre-de-la-Boderie; the third the Vulgate; the fourth the Greek of the Complutensian, and at the bottom the Syriac text in Hebrew characters with vowel-points. The Syriac version is given on the whole of the New Testament, with the exception of John's epistle, Jude's epistle, and the Revelation. The text of the New Testament is preceded by a preface, which treats of the antiquity and character of the Syriac version, prepared by le Fevre.

The *sixth volume* contains:

1. Thesauri hebraicae linguae, olim a Sante Pagnino, Lucensi, conscripti, Epitome, cui accessit Grammatices libellus ex optimis quibusque Grammaticis collectus. Antwerpiæ, excudebat Christophorus Plantinus, Prototypographus Regius, M.D.LXXII.

2. Dictionarium Syro-Chaldaicum, Guidone Fabricio Boderiano collectore et auctore. Antwerp, etc.: M.D.LXXII.

3. Grammatica linguae Syriacæ, inventore atque auctore Andr. Masio. Opus novum et a nostris hominibus adhuc non tractatum quod laboriosa animadversione atque notatione vocalium aliorumque punctorum Syriacorum; quibusque dictionibus in optimis emendatissimisque libris appositorum ille nuper composuit. Antwerp. ex offic. Christ. Plantini, Regii Typogr. M.D.LXXI.

4. *Syrorum Peculium*, hoc est, Vocabula apud Syros scriptores passim usurpata: Targumistis vero aut prorsus incognita; aut in ipsorum Vocabulariis non satis explicata. Andreas Masius sibi, suae memoriae juvandae causa colligebat. Antwerp. ex officina Christoph. Plantini, M.D.LXXI.

5. Lexicon Graecum et Institutiones linguae graecæ, ad Sacri Apparatus instructionem. Antwerp, etc.

The *seventh volume* contains:

1. "Communes et familiares hebraicae linguae idiotismi, omnibus Bibliorum interpretationibus ac praecipue latinae Sanctis Pagnini versioni accommodati, atque ex variis doctorum virorum laboribus et observationibus selecti et explicati. *Benedicti Ariae Montani, Hispalensis*, opera. Ad Sacrorum Bibliorum Apparatum." Antwerp. etc. M.D.LXXII.

[Arias in correcting Pagnini's Latin translation of the Hebrew text, so closely adhered to the original Hebrew, that the translation has become entirely unin-

telligible. For the explanation of this translation he prepared the "Communes," which gives the Hebrew idioms in the Latin language according to the alphabet.]

2. *Liber Joseph*, sive de arcano sermone ad sacri apparatus instructionem a Benedicto Aria Montano Hispalensi concinnatus.

TYPOGRAPHUS LECTORI.

Habes in hoc opere, studiose Lector, praeter plenam totius argumenti suscepti disputationem, ultra undecim mille sacrae Scripturae loca aperte explicata, ad quae caetera quaecunque ejusdem generis fuerint, referre certissime possis. Quod si hoc volumen cum proximo de Actione conjungas, perpetuum sacrorum librorum commentarium tibi paraveris. Antwerp. Excud. Chr. Plantin. etc. M.D.LXXI.

3. *Liber Jeremiae*, sive de Actione ad sacri apparatus instructionem, Bened. Aria Montano, Hispal. auctore editus.

TYPOGRAPHUS LECTORI.

Novi argumenti librum tibi, studiose Lector, edimus, non modo ad Sacrarum Scripturarum interpretationem sed ad omnium fere aliorum autorum expositionem utilissimum; et multorum in Sacra Scriptura difficillimorum locorum indicem expeditissimum. Antwerp. etc.

[This book contains an explanation of all the members of the human body, mentioned in the Bible, especially in explanation of anthropomorphistic terms. Arias termed the book *Jeremiah*, because this prophet is especially rich in such terms.]

4. *Tubal-Cain*, sive de mensuris sacris liber, tribus voluminibus distinctus. De Cubito., De Satho., De Siculo. B. Aria Montano Hispalensi auctore.

TYPOGRAPHUS LECTORI.

Exhibemus tibi, studiose Lector, non solum mensurarum, ponderum, ac numerorum, quae in sacris indicantur, certam expensamque rationem, sed earundem rerum elementa vera, quibus aliorum etiam auctorum, qui aliquod in hoc genere scripsere, sententiam vera aestimatione tenere possis. Antwerpiae. Excud. Christoph. Plantinus, Typogr. reg. ad Sacror. Biblior. apparatus M.D.LXXII.

5. *Phaleg*, sive de gentium sedibus primis, orbisque terrae situ, liber, B. Aria Montano, Hispalensi, auctore. Antwerp. M.D.LXXII., Sixteen pages with a map of the globe.

6. *Chaleb*, sive de terrae promissae partitione. Ten pages with a map of that country.

7. *Chanaan*, sive de duodecim gentibus. Seven pages with a map.

8. *Exemplar*, sive de sacris Fabricis liber, B. Aria Montano Hisp. auctore. Antwerp. etc.

9. *Aaron*, sive sanctorum vestimentorum ornamentorumque summa descriptio, ad sacri Apparatus instructionem: B. Aria Montano, Hisp. expositore. Antwerp.....M.D.LXXII. Six pages with an engraving, representing the high priest and a common priest.

10. *Nehemias*, sive de antiquae Jerusalem situ volumen; a B. Aria Mont. Hisp. descriptum. Two pages, with a rapid sketch of the city.

11. *Daniel*, sive de saeculis codex integer a B. Aria Montano, Hisp. rationem ex sacris nominibus subducente, conscriptus.

TYPOGRAPHUS LECTORI.

Omnia fere, quae de temporum ratione significata majoribus summis in sacra. Bibliorum historia nobis credenda proponebantur, minutis numeris e propriis locis sigillatim in hunc codicem relata, jam velut demonstrata tenere licebit. Expectabis vero ab auctore ipso (tantum Deus illius vota secundet) majus opus, in quo historiarum in speciem circa tempora repugnantiae apertissima explicatione dirimantur. Interim his frui laboribus, tibi magno ad lucem sacrae lectioni admovendam usui futuris. Antwerp.....M.D.LXXII. Eleven pages.

[These eleven parts were published separately at Leyden in the year 1593, 4to, under the title: *Antiquitatum Judaicarum Libri IX.* Richard Simon's¹ remark that, the whole matter, which is treated in these essays is to be found more complete and more correct in other writings, is indeed correct; and yet it is but just to judge the work of Arias in accordance with his times, and the helps which he could make use of. and in both respects, he has done all he could.]

12. *Index biblicus*, qui res eas de quibus in sacris Bibliis agitur, ad certa capita, Alphabeti ordine digesta, revocatus, summa brevitate complectitur. Twenty-seven pages, by John of Harlem.

13. *Catalogus librorum canonicorum Vet. et N. Testamenti ex Cap. XLVII. Concilii tertii Carthaginensis, celebrati circa annum Dom. CCCC.* [is appended to the 12, and contains also the testimony of the Church-fathers with regard to Tradition].

14. *Hebraea, Chaldaea, Graeca et Latina*, nomina virorum, mulierum, populorum, idolorum, urbium, fluviorum, montium caeterorumque locorum, quae in Bibliis utriusque Testamenti leguntur in veteri interprete, cum aliquot appellativis hebraicis, chaldaicis, et graecis vocibus, adjecta eorum expositione et explicatione. Locorum praeterea descriptio ex Cosmographis.

¹ "Dans le traité intitulé Joseph il a expliqué quantité des mots, qui se trouvent dans l'Ecriture; mais il ne l'a pas fait ce me semble, avec assez d'exactitude. Il affecte une certaine méthode qui ne convient gueres à son sujet, et il rapporte de plus une infinité de choses communes, et qui ne sont ignorées de personne. Il y a d'autres dictionnaires de l'Ecriture qui sont beaucoup meilleures. Le livre, que Bochart a fait, imprimé sous le Nom de *Phaleg*, doit être préféré aux discours, que le même Arias a aussi publiés sous le Nom de *Phaleg* et de Cánaan. On trouvera de plus ailleurs de meilleures Traités, que ceux où il explique ce qui regarde l'Arche de Noë, les Vetemens des Sacrificateurs et la Chronologie de l'Ecriture." (*Histoire Critique du V. Test.*, L.III. ch. 17.)

15. Ben. Ariae Montani, Hispalensis, de varia in hebraicis libris lectione, ac de Mazzoreth, ratione atque usu Praefatio ad Lectorem. Eight pages.

16. Variae Lectiones et Annotatiunculae, quibus *Thargum* i. e. chaldaica paraphrasis infinitis in locis illustratur et emendatur.

17. Loca ex chaldaica paraphrasi rejecta, quae superflua videbantur.

18. Variarum in graecis Bibliis lectionum libellus a Guil. Cantero concinnatus.

19. Illustrissimi D. Sirleti, S. R. E. Annotationes variarum lectionum in *Psalmos* ad Sacri Bibliorum apparatus instructionem. Eleven pages.

20. Tabula evangelicarum lectionum....ecclesiae syriacae in Dominicos et festos dies anniversarios, by Guy le Fevre.

21. Loca restituta in Novi Testamenti Syriaci contextu ope antiquissimi exemplaris MS.

22. Errata, quae inter excudendum in N. T. irrepserunt [i. e. into the Syriac version].

23. Variae Lectiones in latinis Bibliis editionis vulgatae, ex vetustiss. MSS. exemplaribus collectae, et ad textum *hebraicum, chaldaicum, graecum et syriacum* examinatae. Opera et industria Theologor. in Acad. Lovan.

The *eighth volume* contains the interlineary version of Santes Pagninus, as corrected by Arias, under the following title :

“Hebraicorum Bibliorum veteris Testamenti latina interpretatio, opera olim *Xantis Pagnini* Lucensis : nunc vero *Benedicti Ariae Montani* Hispalensis, *Franc. Raphelengii*, *Alnetani*, *Guidonis et Nic. Fabriciorum* Boderianorum fratrum, collato studio ad hebraicam dictionem diligentissime expensa : censorum Lovaniensium judicio examinata et academiae suffragio comprobata ; ad regii sacri operis commoditatem et apparatus. *Christoph. Plantinus*, regius prototypographus *Antwerpiae* excudebat.” 167 pages.

“*Novum Testamentum* graece cum vulgata interpretatione latina graeci contextus lineis inserta ; quae quidem interpretatio cum a graecarum dictionum proprietate discedit, sensum videlicet magis ; quam verba exprimens in margine libri est collocata ; atque *Bened. Ariae Montani* Hispalensis opera e verbo reddita ac diverso characterum genere distincta, *Lovaniensium* vero censorum judicio et totius academiae calculis comprobata, in ejus est substituta locum. *Antwerpiae*, excudebat *Christ. Plantinus*.” M.D.LXXII.

In the present edition, the Hebrew roots are noted in the margin, in order to assist the beginner in Hebrew. The apocryphal books, which the Church of Rome acknowledges as canonical, are here omitted, but are inserted in the edition of 1584. Another remarkable fact in that edition is the endeavor to change the Hebrew Text in Genesis 3:15 according to the Vulgate. In that passage, the Vulgate reads *ipsa conteret*, referring to the woman, which the Church of Rome refers to *Mary*. The intention was to change the original reading *חַוָּה* into *מָרְיָם*,

adding the massoretic circle $\overset{\circ}{\text{ה}}\text{ה}$, as if the Massorites had already noted this unusual reading; but by a mistake $\overset{\circ}{\text{ה}}\text{ה}$ was printed. But this change, which is ascribed to *Guy le Fevre*, gave so much offense, even in the Church of Rome, that the next edition prepared by *Rapheleng* substituted the original reading.

Arias presented this work in person to Pope Gregory XIII, in his name and in the name of the king of Spain. The pope rewarded him with the commandery of *Pelai Perez*, with which an income of 2000 ducats was connected, and made him one of his house-chaplains.

The fame which Arias had thus acquired, made him the object of jealousy and hatred.¹ Prominent among those who envied him was *Leo de Castro*, canon of Valladolid. Arias was accused of Judaism, because he had the Chaldee paraphrase reprinted, which tended to confirm the Jews in their errors. Arias defended himself in an apology written in Spanish, said to be in MS. at Oxford. But in vain. Several times he had to come to Rome to defend himself in person, and was finally honorably dismissed in 1580.

The Antwerp Polyglot belongs to the rare books. Only 500 copies were printed, and on a voyage from the Netherlands to Spain nearly all the copies were lost.²

The Polyglot is generally called the "Antwerp Polyglot" or from the patronage bestowed on it by Philip II, "Biblia Regia," and sometimes also after the printer "Biblia Plantiniana."

This edition was followed by

¹ "This is no new thing that endeavours to promote the publique good should be thus rewarded. For in the former ages we find, that those who labour'd most about the sacred oracles of God, to restore them to their primitive luster, and to wipe off that dust which by injuries of time and ignorance or negligence of transcribers was contracted, and to transmit them pure to posterity (whose endeavours, one would think, might have set the authors without the reach of calumny) have yet been aspers'd and slander'd, their labours calumniated, and their aims perverted. That magnificent work of the King of Spain's Bible could not protect the publisher, Arias Montanus, from the jealousies and calumnies of malignant spirits, of his own brethren; and he hardly escap'd the Inquisition. Erasmus, his extraordinary paines, in publishing the Greek Testament, by comparing ancient copies and translations, was rail'd at by some Friers and ignorant zelots, as if he took upon him to *correct the word of God*. For they cried out, he says, *quasi protinus actum esset de religione Christiana; vociferantur, καὶ σχερλιαζουσιν, O cœlum! O terra! corrigis hic Evangelium!*" Walton's *Defence of himself*, in *Considerator consider'd*, p. 3, 156.

² "Magnificum hoc opus, orbis miraculum a nonnullis olim, teste Briano Waltons (in apparatu Biblico, ed. Tigur. fol. 205) dictum, quondam mare iratum expertum est, magnam enim exemplarium partem, dum in Hispaniam vehenda essent, absorpta a tempestatum vehementia navi in aquis perlissee, ex Mallinkroto jam monuit Wendlerus (in *Dissertat. de varis raritatis librorum causis*, § a). Hinc Sebast. Tengnagelius suo tempore id trecentorum florenorum pretio vendendum esse refert in libello supplicis, S. C. majestati oblato, quo Coraducianae Bibliothecae comparationem suadet (vid. B. Chr. Richardi *Historia Bibl. Caesar. Vindob.*, p. 84). Initio centum thaleris venissee scribit Mich. Neander (in *Orbis terrae Descript.* B. 5.). Scaliger autem quadraginta duplonibus (pistoles), qui quingenta exemplaria fuisse excusa memorat (in *Scaligerianis*, p. 8). Scheihorn in *Ameritt. Utterar.*, II, p. 898.

1. *The Paris Polyglot.*

The Antwerp Polyglot, which at the beginning of the XVIIth century, was very difficult to be procured, induced the cardinal *du-Perron* to undertake the publication of a similar but more complete work. The Antwerp Polyglot did not have the Syriac version of the O. T., and no Arabic version at all. To supply this want, it was necessary to find such men who could not only publish these versions, but who were also able to facilitate their perusal by a Latin translation thereof. With the aid of *de Thou*,¹ *du Perron* succeeded in inducing two Maronites, *Gal riel Sionita* and *John Hesronita*, who lived at Rome, to come to France. In order to keep them in that country, *Gabriel Sionita* was appointed Professor of Syriac and Arabic, while *John Hesronita* was elected royal interpreter of the Oriental languages. *Sionita* prepared for the most part the translations. But before he finished the Latin translation of the Arabic version, *du Perron* and *de Thou* died. The Maronites presented in the year 1619 a paper to the French clergy at Blois, requesting that a certain sum should at least be appropriated for carrying the Latin translation of the Arabic version through the press. Eight thousand livres were appropriated, which, however, were squandered, and in the year 1625 nothing had been done yet.²

At last, *Guy Michel Le Jay*, attorney of parliament, decided to take the work in his own hands. His plan was to reprint the Antwerp Polyglot, enlarged with the Syriac and Arabic versions. At the suggestion of Cardinal *Berulle* he concluded to have the Samaritan Pentateuch with the Samaritan version also printed, under the care of *Morinus*. In March, 1628, the printing was commenced in the office of *Antoine Vitre*, but on account of differences between *Le Jay* and *Gabriel Sionita*, it was not completed until the year 1645.

The title is :

Biblia. 1. Hebraica. 2. Samaritana. 3. Chaldaica. 4. Graeca. 5. Syriaca. 6. Latina. 7. Arabica. Quibus textus originales totius scripturae sacrae, quorum pars in editione Complutensi deinde in Antwerpiensi regis sumtibus extat, nunc integri, ex manuscriptis toto fere orbe quaesitis exemplaribus exhibentur. Lutetiae Parisiorum, excudebat Antonius Vitre, Regis, Reginae regentis et cleri Gallicani typographus. MDCXXIX-MDCXLV. 9 parts in 10 vols. fol.

¹ "Libani nostri novam Bibliorum editionem parant, cui post Hispanam et ultimam Antwerpianam, meliorem paraphrasim Chaldaicam, sive Syriacam et Arabicam versionem in vetus et novum Testamentum addent cum interpretatione Latina peculiari. Illustrissimus Cardinalis Perronius opus urget, et vicaria opera nostra ad eam rem utitur." *Comp. Lambecii Commentar. de Bibliotheca Vindobonensi*, L. I., p. 150.

² Thus *Sionita* complains in the preface to his edition of the Syriac Psalter: "Quo quidem una cum versione latina frueretur modo Christiana Respublica liberalitate Illustrissimorum Ecclesiae Gallicanae Praesulum, nisi pecunias ab his in Comitibus Blesensibus anno 1619, huius operi moliendo attributas quidam avertissent, inque alios et forsitan in suos usus convertissent."

The title is followed by a kind of an inscription, wherein the undertaker of the work is especially made known, as can be seen from the following: "Regnante Ludovico XIV....Gallia....augustos Regis seculorum codices, sacras paginas septeno idiomate personantes....aeterno immortalitatis templo appendit, summo perennitatis auctori, offerente et consecrante *Guidone Michale Le Jay* dat, dicat, vovet." Then comes a very lengthy preface, written in the name of Le Jay, which, however, contains nothing concerning the history of this work, nor anything else of interest.¹ The more instructive is Morin's preface, in which he speaks of the Samaritan Pentateuch and its version. But here, as elsewhere, he regards the Samaritan Pentateuch as the genuine text of the Old Testament.

Vols. 1-4, which were published in 1629, contain the Old Testament, together with the Chaldee, Greek and Latin versions of the Antwerp Polyglot. For the Vulgate neither the edition of Clement VIII. was consulted, nor the critical edition published by the authority of Sixtus V., for the Alexandrian version.² The Chaldee is said to have been changed according to the Venetian and other editions,³ whilst the reprint of the Hebrew text is very defective.⁴

¹ Richard Simon (*Histoire Crit. des V. T.*, p. 518) speaks thus of this preface: "Dans le Preface generale on s'étend d'abord assez au long sur l'autorité de l'Ecriture par rapport à celle de l'Eglise, laquelle seule peut donner les véritables Originaux de la Bible. *Illic Originales Textus, de quibus non mediocriter hodie controversia est, sublatis involueris, innotescent; et quae quotidie suboriuntur difficultates, in illa sede tranquillitatis enodatae, feliciter desinent.* On traite en suite de chaque Texte de la Bible en particulier, mais d'une maniere, qui n'est pas capable d'en donner une connoissance assez exacte; outre qu'elle paroît d'être remplie de préjugés en faveur des deux anciennes Versions de l'Eglise; comme si l'on ne pouvoit pas leur donner toute l'autorité qu'elle meritent, sans les préférer au Texte Hebreu. Pour faire voir d'avantage l'autorité de la Version Grecque des Septante, on a rapporté le témoignage d'un Auteur Mahometan, qui la préfère dans un point de Chronologie au Texte Hebreu d'où l'auteur de cette Préface a conclu, que parmi les Mahometans la Version des Septante est plus autorisée que le Text Hebreu Juif, et que le Texte Hebreu Samaritain. Non tantum apud Christianos LXX. Interpretum versio supremæ autoritatis fuit, sed apud Mahumetanos etiam ipsos."

² "Mirum videri debet (says Flavigny in his first epistle on that work, p. 39) omnibus piis ac vere Catholicis, aliam esse editionem septuaginta duorum seniorum ab ea, quae nobis a Sixto V. Pont. Max. diplomate Cupientes commendata est atque proposita.—Sed quis ferat Vulgatam editionem Latinam etiam emendatam a Summis Pontificibus ac minime recognitam in hoc opere repraesentari." With these words corresponds what R. Simon says (p. 518): "Il est étonnant que le Pere Morin, qui a eu part à cette édition, ait fait imprimer séparément à Paris la Version des Septante selon l'Exemplaire du Vatican qu'on estime le plus correcte de tous, et qu'on ne l'ait point mis dans cette nouvelle Bible. De-plus, il n'est pas aussi moins étonnant, qu'on n'y ait point mis l'Edition Vulgate selon la dernière correction de Rome."

³ *Textus Chaldaeus* (says Flavigny, p. 20) omnino interpolatus est ex editione Antwerpiana, Basiliensi et Veneta; ejus autem versio nunquam ab Antwerpiensi, licet interdum mendosa sit, discedens aut absona. Nempe non potuit [referring to Ph. Aquinas, who had charge of the Chaldee and Hebrew Texts] indoctus penitus latino suam illam interpretationem Latinis verbis exprimere.

⁴ "Hebraeus Textus, qui velut omnium primus atque praestantissimus peculiari quadam cura fovendus erat, fuit omnium textuum infelicissimus; totenim ac tantis conspurcatus maculis fuit atque sordibus, obstetricantibus impurissimis manibus Philippi Aquinatis Avenionensis, ut vix ullum reperire liceat versiculum, in quo non sit peccatum immaniter, in accentibus ubique, in litteris satis frequenter, in vocalibus saepissime." (Flavigny, p. 19.) And further on he speaks of Aquinas: "ita destitutus fuit omnibus praeceptionibus grammaticis, et aliis adminiculis ad hoc opus adornandum necessariis, ut etiam coactus fuerit, filium suum adhuc tyronem et immaturum accersere, et eum a jocis puerilibus ad emendanda specimina typographica transmittere. Sed quid insulsius, quam aliam (Vulgatam nempe Latinam) a suo textu versionem excludere, textus enim hebraeus nullam habet versionem sibi correspondentem quae tamen necessaria foret ad tantum apparatus."

The *fifth volume* consists of two parts, of which the first was published in 1630, containing the four Gospels together with the Vulgate and the Syriac version of the Antwerp Polyglot, but enlarged by the Arabic version and Latin translation thereof, reprinted from the Roman edition of 1591. The second part, published in 1633, contains the remainder of the New Testament. The Arabic version is reprinted from a MS. written in Egypt in the XIVth century. The Syriac version of the second epistle of Peter, the second and third of John, of Jude and of the Apocalypse, which was wanting in the Antwerp Polyglot, is here inserted, the former from Pocock's edition of 1630, the latter from De Dieu's edition of 1627.

The *sixth volume* published in 1632 contains the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Syriac, Arabic and Samaritan versions with a Latin translation. The Samaritan Pentateuch is reprinted from a MS., which Achilles Hartley de Sancy presented to the library of the Oratory at Paris;¹ whilst the Samaritan version is taken from a MS., which Piedro della Valle had bought of the Samaritans in Damascus in the year 1616. The Latin translation to both Samaritan texts was prepared by Morinus.

The *seventh volume*, published in 1642, contains the Syriac and Arabic translations of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings and Chronicles.

The *eighth volume*, published in 1535, contains the Syriac and Arabic translations of Ezra, Nehemiah, Job, Psalms, the writings of Solomon and the moral books of the O. T. Apocrypha.³

The *ninth volume*, which appeared in 1645, gives the Syriac and Arabic translations of the prophetical books.

From this table of contents it will be seen that more could have been done, provided the materials of the Parisian libraries had been more perused.⁴

1 "Pentateuchum Hebraeo-Samaritanum Joannes Morinus edidit juxta optimum Bibliothecae Oratorianae Parisiensis exemplar, quod Rev. Pater Achelles Sancius, tum Congregationis Oratorii D. J. Socius et Symmista anno 1620, huic Bibliothecae dono dederat." *Le Long Biblioth.* S. P. I. p. 358 ed. Masch.

2 "Petrus a Valle, Patricius Romanus, qui duodecim totos annos in orientatibus regionibus consumpserat, et cujus potissimum opera, ut audio, Pater Harlaeus Sancius codicem suum nactus est, aliud Pentateuchi exemplar Romam detulit, quod non caractere tantum, sed et idiomate Samaritano conscriptum est." (*Antiqq. Eccl. Orient.*, p. 142.)

3 The reason why the 8th vol. was published before the 7th, is thus given by Le Long, l. c. p. 361: "Iamque septimi tomi magna pars excusa erat, nempe libri Josuae, Judicum et tres Regum priores, ut compleretur ille tomus, suppeditanda erat a Gabriele Sionita Latina librorum Ruth, quarti Regum et duorum Paralipomenon conversio, una cum suis textibus exscribenda cujus cum ab ipso copia non fuisset opportune facta, ideo ad aliud tempus remissa fuit horum librorum editio. Itaque *tomo octavo*,....excudendo insudarunt operae, quem circa exitum anni 1635 perfecerunt."

4 Quot ad hanc Bibliorum Polyglottorum editionem perficiendam consummandamque manuscripta exemplaria suppeditarent ditissimae hujus Regiae Civitatis Bibliothecae, utpote cum in sexvelseptem. Regia nimirum, Colbertina, Segneriana, Sangermanensi, Dominicana, Oratoriana et aliis quibusdam tanto numero codices Bibliorum linguis Orientalibus, Gracis et Latinis expressorum serventur, ut si ad calculum revocet, duo et triginta supra trecentos numerentur." *Le Long*, l. c., p. 380.

The greatest merit of the work consists in that it gives for the first time the Samaritan Pentateuch which had hitherto not been known in Europe; and that it furnishes a Syriac and Arabic translation of almost all the books of the Bible. It would have been of greater advantage, if Gabriel Sionita had exhibited a little more critical acumen,¹ and as for his Latin translations they are defective. The attention of Le-Jay having been called to this fact, he gave Sionita to understand to withdraw. Gabriel, being charged with slowness in the work, charged on his side Le-Jay as the cause thereof, which was indeed a matter of fact. When Sionita finished his work in a very short time, and notified Le-Jay thereof, the latter did not commence the printing, but on the contrary, had Sionita put in prison where he had to suffer for six months. In the mean time, Abraham Echellensis was called from Rome, to examine Sionita's translation.² In the year 1640 he arrived at Paris, compared the translation with the original, and although he certified that the former was correct,³ yet he agreed with Le-Jay to undertake the edition of the remaining books at the salary of 1800 livres. But he only published the Syriac and Arabic translation of the Book of Ruth and the third of Maccabees, for in 1641 he returned to Rome after having reconciled Le-Jay with Sionita. A very severe criticism on this Polyglot was written by Valerian de Flavigny in his four epistles⁴ which, although just in many respects, shows his partiality for Sionita and against Abr. Echellensis.

The very high price and the inconvenient size, prevented many from procuring the work. English booksellers offered themselves to buy 600 copies at half of the price, but Le-Jay refused the offer. About that time a work was prepared in England, which made Le-Jay's Polyglot not only not necessary, but finally forced him to sell the work, in which he had invested his whole fortune, as waste paper. The once so famous Paris Polyglot was now replaced by the most complete, correct and useful of all Polyglots, viz.,

¹ "Negari non potest" (says Walton in his *prolegomena*, XIII, § 8) "multos et graves defectus ac naevos in editione ista occurrere, tam ex MSS. librorum quibus usus est Sionita, lacunis, quas aliquando ex proprio ingenio, non ex codice MS. supplevit, et aliquando ut invenit reliquit, quam ex operarum erratis, quae nimis frequenter occurrunt, tum ex versione Lat. quae cum Syr. ubique non exacte quadrat."

² Cf. Abr. Echellensis *Epist. Apologet.*, see p. 141.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 142. "Jussu Eminentissimi Principis Cardinalis ducis mihi injuncto ab Illustrissimis et Reverentissimis D. D. Leonoro d'Estampes Archiepiscopo Remensi, et Jacobo Lescot, Episcopo Carnotensi ad inceptum multilinguis editionis opus promovendum ab eodem Eminentissimo delegatis eorundem Bibliorum versiones, a clarissimo viro Gabriele Sionita... Latini juris factas ex Syrorum et Arabicorum linguis sedulo evolvi atque perlegi, easque Syriaco et Arabico et archetypis omnino conformes reperi ac fidelissime expressas."

⁴ 1) Epistola in qua de ingenti Bibliorum opere, quod nuper, Lutetiae Parisiorum prodit, ac ei praefixa Praefatione disseritur. Parisiis, 1646; 2) Epistola altera, in qua, etc., *ibid.*, 1646; 3) Epistola tertia in qua de libello Ruth Syriaco, quem Abrahamus Echellensis insertum esse voluit ingenti isti Bibliorum operi, etc., 1641. Against these letters Abraham wrote: "Apologia de editione Bibliorum Polyglottorum Parisiensium, *ibid.* 1647, and "Epistolae Apologeticae duae adversus Valerianum de Flavigny pro editione Syriaca Libelli Ruth," *ibid.*, 1647. These latter letters elicited Flavigny's fourth epistle: "Epistola adversus Abr. Echellensem de libello Ruth," etc., *ibid.*, 1648.

2. *The London Polyglot,*

OR

Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, complectentia textus originales Hebraicum cum Pentateucho Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Graecum, Versionumque antiquarum, Samaritanae, Graecae LXXII. Interpretum, Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Arabicae, Aethiopicae, Persicae, Vulg. Lat. quicquid comparari poterat. Cum textuum et versionum Orientalium translationibus Latinis. Ex vetustissimis MSS. undique conquisitis, optimisque exemplaribus impressis, summa fide collatis.

Quae in prioribus editionibus deerant suppleta.

Multa antehac inedita, de novo adjecta.

Omnia eo ordine disposita, ut Textus cum Versionibus uno intuitur conferri possint.

Cum apparatu, appendicibus, indicibus, tabulis, variis lectionibus, annotationibus, etc. Opus totum in sex tomos tributum. Edidit Brianus Waltonus, S. T. D., Londini, imprimebat Thomas Boycroft. MDCLVII.

The contents of the work are as follows :

Tom. I. contains : The dedication to King Charles II., eleven pages of Walton's preface and one page giving : *Index eorum quae pro apparatu tomo primo praefiguntur.*

Pages 1-30—*Chronologia sacra per Ludovicum Capellum.*

Pages 30-36—*De ponderibus et pretiis veterum nummorum, eorumque cum recentioribus collatione. Authore Edouardo Brerewood.*

Pages 36-38—*Briani Waltoni supplementum de Siciorum formis et inscriptionibus cum eorum explicatione.*

Pages 39-42—*Tractatus de antiquis ponderibus, monetis et mensuris Hebraeorum, Graecorum, Romanorum ex variis auctoribus.*

Pages 42-44—*De mensuris seu vasis ex iisdem auctoribus.*

Pages 45-48—*Explicatio idiotismorum seu proprietatum linguae hebraicae et graecae quae saepius in Scripturis occurrunt.*

Pages 48-53—*Terrae sanctae descriptio, Jacobi Bonfrerii Annotationes in Christiani Adichomii descriptionem Terrae sanctae, Johannis Lightfoot Animadversiones in tabulas chorographicas terrae sanctae.*

Pages 1-38—*Trisagion sive Templi hierosolymitani triplex delineatio : una ex scriptura juxta mentem Villapandi et descriptionem ab eo factam, altera ex Josephi mente et descriptione, tertia ex Judaeorum in Talmude descriptione et juxta mensuras ab ipsis isthic traditas, per Ludovicum Capellum (with three pages illustrating the temple and Jerusalem).*

Pages 1-102—*Briani Waltoni in Biblia Polyglotta prolegomena.*

1. *De linguarum natura, origine divisione, numero, mutationibus et usu.*

2. *De literis sive characteribus, ipsarum usu mirabili, origine et inventione prima et diversitate in linguis praecipuis.*

3. De lingua hebraica, ejus antiquitate, conservatione, mutatione, praestantia et usu, characteribus antiquis, punctisque vocalibus et accentibus.

4. De Bibliorum editionibus praecipuis.

5. De Bibliorum versionibus.

6. De Variantibus in Scriptura lectionibus.

7. De Textuum originalium integritate et auctoritate.

8. De Masora, Keri et Ketib, variis lectionibus Orientalium et Occidentalium, Ben Asher et Ben Naphtali et de Cabala.

9. De versione graeca 72 interp. aliisque Graecis versionibus.

10. De versione Vulgata latina.

11. De Pentateucho Samaritano ejusque versionibus.

12. De lingua Chaldaica et versionibus Chaldaicis.

13. De lingua Syriaca et versionibus Syriacis.

14. De lingua Arabica et versionibus Arabicis.

15. De lingua Aethiopica et versionibus Aethiopicis.

16. De lingua Persica et versionibus Persicis.

One unpagéd leaf, containing on one side, "errata."

Page 1—Title.

Page 2—865. The Pentateuch: Textus hebraicus cum versione, interlineari Santis Pagnini (corrected by B. A. Montanus and others), vers. Vulgata latina, vers. graeca LXX. Interpretatione latina, Targum Onkelos cum versione latina, textus Hebraeo-Samaritanus, versio Samaritana, text. et vers. Sam. translatio latina, vers. syriaca et arabica cum interpretatione latine.

Tom. II. contains

Page 1—Title.

Pages 2—627—Earlier Prophets and Ruth: Textus hebraicus cum versione interlineari Santis Pagnini; vers. Vulgata latina, vers. graeca LXX. Interp. cum translatione latina, Targum Jonathan cum versione latina, vers. syriaca et arabica cum interpretatione latina.

Pages 628—890—Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, with all the versions as the earlier prophets, excepting the Chaldee.

Page 1—Title.

Pages 2—29. Esther, the versions of the earlier prophets, excepting the Arabic.

Tom. III. contains:

Pages 2—87—Job: Textus hebraicus cum versione interlineari Santi Pagnini; vers. Vulgata latini, vers. graeca LXX. Interp. cum translatione latina, Targum cum versione latina, vers. syriaca et arabica cum interpretatione latina.

Pages 88—319—The Psalms, besides all the versions given under Job, it also has versio aethiopica cum translatione latina.

Pages 320—395—Proverbs with all the versions as under Job.

Pages 396-448—Ecclesiastes with the versions as Job, Song of Songs with the versions of the Psalms.

Page 1—Title.

Pages 2-389—Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations with the versions as in Job.

Page 1—Title.

Pages 2-178—Ezekiel, the versions as Isaiah.

Pages 178-227—Daniel, the versions as Isaiah, excepting the Targum.

Page 1—Title.

Pages 2-149—The twelve minor prophets, the versions as Isaiah.

Page 150—Publication-place.

Tom. IV. contains

Page 1—Title.

Page 2—Ordo librorum, etc.

Pages 3-87—1. Oratio regis Manassae cum versione Vulg. latina.

2. Liber Esdrae tertius vers. Vulg. lat., vers. graeca LXX. Interp. cum translatione latina, versio syriaca cum interpretatione latina.

3. Liber Esdrae quartus.

4. Liber Tobiae secundum editionem P. Fagii (Hebrew) cum versione latina. Editio Sebast. Munsteri (Hebrew) cum vers. latina, vers. Vulg. lat., vers. graeca LXX. Interp. cum translatione latina, versio syriaca cum interpretatione latina.

5. Liber Judith vers. Vulg. lat., vers. graeca LXX. Interp. cum transl. lat. versio syriaca cum interpret. lat.

Two leaves unpagéd: Esther chs. 12-16, vers. graeca LXX. Interp. cum trans. lat. vers. Vulg. lat.

Page 1-128—Liber Sapientiae vers. Vulg. lat., vers. graeca LXX. Interp. cum trans. lat., versio syriaca et arabica cum interpret. lat.

Ecclesiasticus with the versions as the "*Liber Sapientiae*."

Page 1—Title.

Page 2-4—Epistola prima Baruchi scribae vers. syriaca cum interpr. lat.

Pages 5-23—Epistola secunda Baruchi, Epistola Jeremiae vers. Vulg. lat., versio graeca LXX. Interp. cum transl. latina, vers. syriaca et arabica cum interp. latina.

Page 1—Title.

Pages 2-20—Daniel chs. 13, 14 (Historia Susannae, oratio Azariae cum Cantico trium puerorum et historia Beli et Draconis) vers. Vulg. lat., vers. graeca LXX. Interp. cum transl. lat., versio syriaca, syriaca altera et arabica cum interpret. lat.

Pages 1-111—Macabaeorum I. II. III. (Greek) cum interpret. lat. vers. Vulg. lat. vers. syriaca et syriaca altera cum interpret. lat.

Page 1—Title.

Pages 112-159—Macabaeorum II. versio arabica cum interpret. lat.

Page 1—Title.

Pages 2-390—Targum Jonathan ben Uziel, Targum Hierosolymitanum cum vers. lat., versio Persica Jacobi Tawusi cum interp. lat. (to the Pentateuch).

Tom. V. contains

Page 1—Title.

Page 2-982—Novi Testamenti ex editione Roberti Stephani, textus graecus cum versione interlineari, quam ad graeci idiomatis rationem expendit Bened. Arias Montanus, versio Vulgata latina, versio syriaca, aethiopica, arabica et persica cum interpret. lat.

The Persian transl. is only on the gospels.

Tom. VI. contains

Fol. 1, page 1—Title.

Fol. 1, page 2—Index.

Pages 1-8—Variae lectiones hebr. Keri et Ketib.

Pages 8-14—Variae lectiones hebr. inter Ben Asher et Ben Naphtali.

Pages 14, 15—Variae lectiones hebr. inter Occidentales et Orientales.

Page 16—Index alphabeticus parasharum, una cum Haphtaris.

Pages 17-72—Variae lectiones et observationes in Chaldaicum Paraphrasin.

Pages 1-50—Variantes in syriaca versione Veteris Testamenti Lectiones e codicibus nostris MSS. excerpto ab Herberto Thorndicio.

Pages 51-56—Notationes variantis lectionis, a Martino Trostio.

Page 1—Edmundi Castelli praefatio de animadversionum Samaritarum in totum Pentateucho ab eo collectatum, scopo atque usu.

Pages 1-34—Animadversiones samariticae in Pentateuchum, variantes lectiones inter textum hebraeum et samaritanum.

Pages 34-43—Variantes lectiones in aethiopica Psalmorum versione, per Ed. Castellum.

Pages 44-46—Excerpta ex Gregorii Syri in librum Psalmorum a Dudleio Loftusio; et in latinum verso cum annotationibus per Ed. Castellum.

46-47—Annotationes E. Castelli in aethiopicam versionem Cantici Cantico-
rum.

Page 48—Thomae Gravii observationes quadam in persicam Pentateuchi versionem.

Pages 49-55—Annotationes E. Castelli in aethiopicum Novi Testamenti versionem.

Pages 56-68—Thomas Gravii annotationes quaedam in persicam interpretationem Evangeliorum.

Pages 1-80—Edwardi Pocockii variae lectiones arabicae Veteris Testamenti.

Pages 1-196—Flaminii Nobilii notae in variantes lectiones versionis graecae LXX. interpretum.

Pages 1-108—LXXII. interpr. editio Romana cum Veneta et Complut. etc. collata.

Pages 109-120—Annotat. in Gen. et Andraeae Masii Annotat. in librum Josuae.

Pages 121-140—LXXII. interpr. editio Romana cum aliis exemplaribus collata.

Pages 1-24—Variae lectiones Veteris Testamenti Vulgatae latinae editionis ab Luca Brugense, Hentensio, etc. collectae et cum codicibus graecis, syriacis, Bibliis Regiis etc. collatae.

Pages 1-36—Patricii Junii annotationes in MS. Alexandrinum LXX. interpr.

Pages 37-58—Variantes lectiones ex annotatis Hugonis Grotii.

Pages 1-36—Variantes lectiones graecae Novi Testamenti.

Pages 1-29—Francisci Lucae Brugensis Notae ad varias lectiones editionis graecae et latinae Novi Testamenti.

Pages 30-36—Variae lectiones Novi Testamenti Vulgatae latinae editionis ab Luca Brugense, Hentensio etc. collectae et cum codicibus graecis, syriacis, Bibliis Regiis etc. collatae.

Page 1-53—Hebraea, Chaldaea, Graeca et Latina nomina virorum, mulierum, populorum, idolorum, urbium, fluvium, montium caeterorumque locorum quae in Bibliis utriusque Testamenti leguntur in veteri interprete, cum aliquot appellativis Hebraicis, Chaldaicis, et Graecis vocibus: adjecta eorum expositione et explanatione. Locorum praeterea descriptio ex Cosmographis.

Pages 54-73—Index rerum et sententiarum Veteris ac Novi Testamenti.

One leaf: errata.

The whole of this stupendous labor was completed in four years. It was published by subscription, under the patronage of Oliver Cromwell, who died before its completion. This gave occasion to the cancelling of two leaves of preface, in order to transfer to King Charles II. the compliment addressed to Cromwell. There are, in consequence, both *Republican* and *Royal* copies, the former of which are the most scarce and valuable.

A very valuable addition to this Polyglot is Edmund Castle's lexicon, entitled:

Lexicon Heptaglotton Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Samaritanum, Aethiopicum, Arabicum conjunctim, et Persicum separatim, etc. etc. etc. Authore Edmundo Castello, S. T. D. etc. etc., Londini, imprimebat Thomas Boycroft, LL., orientalium Typographus Regius 1669.

3. *Plantin's Hebrew-Latin Editions.*

a. *Hebraicorum bibliorum veteris testamenti latina interpretatio, opera olim Xantis Pagnini Lucensis: nunc vero Bened. Ariae Montani Hispalensis, Franc. Raphelengii Alnetani, Guidonis et Nic. Fabriciorum Boderianorum fratrum collato*

studio ad hebraicam dictionem diligentissime expensa: censorum Lovaniensium iudicio examinata et academiae suffragio comprobata; ad regii sacri operis commoditatem et apparatusum. Christoph. Plantinus regius prototypographus Antwerpiae excudebat. (1571). Fol. maj.

The date is not given in the title, but can be seen from the approbations, preceding the same. After the completion of the Antwerp Polyglot, Arias Montanus issued a reprint of the Hebrew O. T. and the Greek N. T., together with Pagnini's Latin interlineary translation, which, as indicated in the title, was corrected by the editor and his collaborators. The Hebrew text is the same as in the Polyglot, but in smaller type. The order of the books of the O. T. is that as in the Latin. The apocryphal books are omitted, although the council of Trent, at which Arias Montanus was present, had declared them to be canonical. In the passage, Gen. 3:15, where the Vulgate reads: *ipsa conteret caput*, with reference to the Virgin Mary, the Hebrew has the reading *הוּא* instead of *הוּיָא*, with a little circle above, to indicate a different reading in the passage (*הוּיָא*). But this corruption was made by G. F. Boderianus not by Arias.

b. *Biblia Hebraicu-Eorundem latina interpretatio Xantis Pagnini, Lucensis, recenter Benedicti Ariae Montani, Hispalensis, et quorundam aliorum collato studio ad Hebraicam dictionem diligentissime expensa. Accesserunt et huic editioni libri graece scripti, quos Ecclesia orthodoxa, Hebraeorum canonem, sequuta inter Apocryphos recenset, cum interlineari interpretatione latina ex Bibliis Complutensibus petita.* Antwerpiae, ex officina Christophori Plantini. M.D.LXXXIII. Fol.

This is the second and last of Plantin's editions. The text is the same as in the first, but changed in Gen. 3:15, where the correct reading has been put. The Apocrypha are here also inserted, but at the displeasure of the orthodox adherents of the council of Trent, who disliked the manner in which they are mentioned in the title. For this cause the title-page was reprinted, and in some copies it is written: *Accesserunt et huic editioni Libri Graece scripti, qui vocantur Apocryphi cum interpretatione latina, etc.*

4. The Burgos' Edition.

A very rare reprint of Plantin's first edition is the

Biblia Hebraica et latina Ariae Montani. Adjecta est ejus de varia librorum Hebraeorum scriptione et lectione et de versionis Pagninianae defensione commentatio. In Burgo Auracensi, in Hispania, 1581. Fol.

5. The Geneva Editions.

a. *מִקְרָא. Biblia Hebraica. Eorundem latina interpretatio Xantis Pagnini Lucensis, Benedicti Ariae Montani Hispal. et quorundam aliorum collato studio ad hebraicam dictionem diligentissime expensa. Accesserunt libri graece scripti, qui*

vocantur Apocryphi, cum interlineari interpretatione latina e Bibliis Complutensibus petita. Fol. 1609.

Both the Hebrew and Latin is printed in small types, and has many typographical mistakes.

b. *Biblia hebraica. Eorundem latina interpretatio Xantis Pagnini. . . . diligentissime expensa. Genevae 1618. Fol.* This is a reprint of the first edition.

6. *The Leyden Edition*

OR

Biblia hebraica cum interlineari interpretatione latina Xantis Pagnini Lucensis, quae quidem interpretatio, cum ab hebraicarum dictionum proprietate discedit, sensum videlicet magis, quam verba exprimens, in margine libri est collocata; atque alia Ben. Ariae Montani Hispalensis, aliorumque collato, studio e verbo reddita, ac diverso characterum genere distincta, in ejus locum est substituta. Accessit bibliorum pars, quae hebraice non reperitur; item Testamentum novum graece cum vulgata interpretatione latina, graeci contextus lineis inserta. Ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengii, 1613. Large 8vo.

7. *The Vienna Edition*

OR

Lex, Prophetæ, Hagiographi Canonici, veteris nempe Testamenti Libri, qui originario nobis etiamnum ore loquuntur, et hebraico in latinum ad literam versi, et in usum Theologiae Candidarum vulgati, adjecta editione vulgata, ad exemplar Sixtinum A. MDXCII. in typographia Vaticana Apostolica impressum. Part I. quinque Moysis libros complexa. Viennae, Austriae, Anno a parto Virginis 1743. Large 8vo.

8. *Reineccius' Polyglot and Manual Editions*

OR

a. *Biblia Sacra Quadrilingua V. Testamenti Hebraici cum versionibus e regione positis, ut pote versione Graeca LXX. Interpretum ex Codice Msto. Alexandrino a Jo. Ern. Græbio primum evulgata et origenianis astericis et obeliscis, quoad fieri potuit, instructa et passim emendata, item versione latina Seb. Schmidii noviter revisa, et textui Hebraeo adcuratius accommodata, et Germanica B. Lutheri ex ultima B. viri revisione et editione MDXLIV.-XLV. expressa: adjectis Textui Hebraeo Notis Masorethicis, et Graecæ versionis lectionibus Codicis Vaticani editionis Romanæ et præcipuis aliarum editionum et interpretum subjectis; notisque Philologicis et Exægeticis aliis, ut et Summariis Capitum ac locis parallelis locupletissimis ornata, accurante M. Christ. Reineccio, Consiliario Saxon. et Gymnasii Weissenfels. Rectore. Accessit Praefatio Salomonis Deylingii, Lipsiae, sumtibus Haered. Lankisianorum. Vol. I., 1750; Vol. II., 1751, fol.*

The first volume contains Genesis to Esther, the second, Job to Malachi, together with the apocryphal books. The left page gives the Hebrew text and the Alexandrian version, the right Schmid's Latin and Luther's German translations.

b. *Biblia Hebraica adoptimorum codicum et editionum fidem recensita et expressa, adjectis notis Masorethicis aliisque observationibus, nec non versuum et capitum distinctionibus, numeris et summariis, accurante M. Christiano Reineccio*, Lipsiae, apud R. Chr. Breitkopfium, 1725, 8vo.

In the preface we are told, as already indicated on the title-page, that in editing this Bible, MSS. have been perused, but their use is nowhere pointed out. An alphabetical table of the Parashioth and a table of the Haphtaroth is given at the end. The type is correct.

c. *Biblia Hebraica ad optimorum, etc.* Editio altera, Lipsiae 1739, 8vo.

This is a second edition of the former, with which it agrees even in its mistakes, which are greater yet, than in the first.

d. *Biblia Hebraica ad optimas quasque editiones expressa cum notis Masorethicis, et numeris distinctionum in Paraschas et capita et versus; nec non singulorum capitum summariis latinis accurante M. Christiano Reineccio*, Lipsiae, sumptibus haeredum Lanckisianorum, 1739, 4to.

This edition distinguishes itself from the former, through the order of pages, which do not run from the right to the left but *vice versa*. The order of books is given in accordance with the German Bibles.

e. *Biblia Hebraica ad optimorum, etc.* Editio tertia, Lipsiae, 1756, 8vo.

This edition was published after Reineccius' death by Caspar G. Pohl, who also wrote the preface, in which he speaks of the changes made by him.

f. *Biblia Hebraica olim a. b. Christ. Reineccio edita et ad optimorum codicum et editionum fidem recensita et expressa, nunc denuo ad fidem recensitionis Masorethicae cum variis lectionibus ex ingenti codicum copia a. b. Kennicotto et J. B. de Rossi collatorum ediderunt D. Jo. Christoph. Doederlein et Joh. Heinr. Meisner*, Lipsiae, impensis J. G. J. Breitkopffii et Socior, 1793, 8vo and 4to.

This edition is valuable on account of the various readings, selected from Kennicott and de Rossi, and put below the text.

g. *Biblia Hebraica, olim a Christ. Reineccio evulgata; post ad fidem recensitionis Masorethicae cum variis lectionibus ex ingenti Codd. MSS. copia a Benj. Kennicotto et J. B. de Rossi collatorum edita, cur. J. C. Doederleinio et J. H. Meisnero, Quorum editioni, ante hos XXV. annos e bibliopolio Lipsiensi emissae, nunc emtionis jure in libr. Orphanotrophei, Halensi translatae accessit G. Ch. Knappii praefatio de editionibus biblicorum Halensibus.* Halis, Libraria Orphanotrophei, 1818.

E. Hutter's Editions.

Several older editions contributed to the formation of Hutter's Bibles :

a. *Via sancta quam non praeteribunt immundi, cum sit pro illis : A qua nec viatores, nec stulti oberrabunt. Sive Biblia sacra, eleganti et majuscula characterum forma, qua ad facilem sanctae linguae et scripturae intelligentiam, novo compendio, primo statim intuitu, literae radicales et serviles, deficientes et quiescentes : situ et colore discernuntur.* Authore E. Huttero, Hamburgi, 1587, fol.

As to the outward appearance of that edition, it is splendid. The whole is divided in four parts, each having a title-page giving in Hebrew and Latin, the contents of the same. In the margin the number of chapters is marked and every fifth verse. The text is taken from the editions of Bomberg, Münster, Stephen, etc., as the following passage indicates in the preface, p. 2 :—

“Deinde etiam exemplaria *Venetiana, Parisiensia, Antwerpiana*, etc., tanquam omnium optima et correctissima, quibus in corrigendo usi sumus, cum hac editione conferas, et reperies, si recte inspexeris, ultra aliquot mille diversitates, quibus exemplaria inter se dissident; si vero cum his contuleris Manuscripta, plures invenies. Quas omnes in hac editione vel notare, vel mutare, vel de iisdem temere sine adhibita justa explicatione, judicare, non potui, nec debui. Occurrunt praeterea hinc inde in Bibliorum transcurso variae et diversae lectiones, et difficilioris intellectus vocabula, partim e viris Masoreth, partim a Rabbinis et interpretibus, partim a nobis ex collatione exemplarium animadversa est observata, quae plerumque circulo consignavi.”

This edition was only printed once, but was published in 1588, 1596 and 1603 with new title-pages. The latter edition has the following title : “*Biblia Ebraea, eleganti . . . intelligentiam, primo statim . . . discernuntur, ad propagandam Dei gloriam elaborata cura et studio Eliae Hutteri.*” Hamburgi, ex bibliopolio Frobenio, 1603.

b. *His Polyglot Bible* (incomplete), or *Biblia Sacra, Ebraice, chaldaice, graece, latine, germanice, gallice.* Studio et labore Eliae Hutteri, Germani, Noribergae. Cum Sacrae Caesar. Majestat. quindecim annorum privilegiis, MD.XCIX. Fol., of which only the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth were published.

Hutter's Hebrew Bible was reprinted in Nissel's edition, in the *Sacra Biblia Hebraea ex optimis editionibus diligenter expressa, et Forma, Literis, Versuumque distinctione commendata.* Labore et studio Joh. Georg. Niseli, Palatini, Linguar. Oriental. Propagatoris. Chrysostom. Κατὰ τὴν Βιβλίαν Φάρμακα τῆς ψυχῆς. Τοῦτο πάντων αἰτίων τῶν κακῶν, τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι τὰς γραφὰς. Cum Privilegio, Lugduni Batavorum, Sumptibus et Typis Nisselianis. MDCLXII., large 8vo.

After this title-page, follows another in Hebrew, which, however, is wanting in some copies; i. e. “The twenty and four, viz., the Pentateuch, the earlier and later prophets and the Hagiographa, with all diligence and greatest accuracy, very

carefully examined. The letters are not only beautiful, but have also been subject to the most careful examination, so likewise the Keris and Kethib, the open and closed sections together with the letters which were wanting and superfluous according to the Masoretic rules. Such an edition has not yet been seen. We had it reprinted from an old codex letter by letter, a codex which has been praised very highly by all those who saw it, even by the learned and men of understanding. From this codex, as we found it, we have taken, word by word, letter by letter, accents and vowels, so that a man can rely upon. Blessed be he, whose eyes have seen it. Printed anew in the celebrated and learned city Leyden, by John G. Nissel, a learned philologist, in the year 422 according to the smaller computation [i. e. A. D. 1662].

O. G. Tychsen was the first who detected that Nissel's edition was only a reprint of Hutter's. When the work was completed, Nissel died, and the preface was prepared by Uchtmann, who says: *Huic conatui et ad finem perducto est immortalis. Eousque tamen lucis hujus usura illi frui Deus permisit, ut illud post septennii integri exantlatos labores molestiasque absolutum tandem viderit.* The preface is dated Dec. 16, 1662.

F. Buxtorf's Editions.

A text revised accurately after the Masora, and therefore deviating here and there from the earlier editions, is furnished by Buxtorf's editions, viz :

a. The manual edition, Basle, 1611, 8vo, published under the title : "Twenty and four, the Pentateuch, the earlier and later prophets and Hagiographa, carefully revised, with the signs of the chapters, the Keri and Kethib, the open and closed sections, the letters which are wanting and superfluous, according to the Massora, such an edition has never been seen before. Printed here at Basle, the great and celebrated city, in the year 371 according to the small computation, in the house of Mr. Conrad Waldkirch, whom God may keep." 8vo.

An appendix gives a table of the Haptharoth. Buxtorf, the father, revised this edition according to the Masora, which was followed by

1. *Biblia hebr. typis Menassae ben Israel, sumptibus Joannis Janssonii, Amstelodami, 1639.*

2. *Biblia Hebraica eleganti characterc impressa. Editio nova. Ex accuratissima recensione doctissimi ac celeberrimi Hebraei Menasseh ben Israel. Amstelodami, Sumtibus Henrici Laurentii, Bibliopolae Amstelodamensis M.DC.XXXV. 4to.*

The Latin title is followed by a Hebrew one, and Menasseh's Hebrew preface and a table of the Haptharoth. The inner side of the Latin title page has *Menasseh ben Israel Lectori* : "Quid in hac editione a me praestitum fit, te paucis praemonere duxi operae pretium. Correctionem adhibui, quam potui diligentissime. Errata tum in punctis, tum in literis atque adeo etiam in ipsis locorum aliquorum

regulis, quae in exemplaribus hactenus editis non pauca reperi, postquam ea diligenter annotavi, fideliter omnia emendavi. Usus sum in toto hoc opere quatuor editionibus omnium correctissimis et ubi discrepantia aliqua sese obtulit, ad regulas grammaticales et Massorae refugium cepi. Scopus mihi nullus alius fuit, quam veritatem in charitate sequi, absque alterius operae vel laboris, antehac a quoquam praestiti, vel vituperio vel dispendio, haud ignarus scilicet illius Rabbino-
rum dicti. *Qui se onerat cum ignominia socii non habet partem in futuro seculo.* Gratum piis omnibus hunc meum laborem futurum confido. Vale et frueri.” It would have been well, if the editor had stated, which four editions he perused, and to which the mistakes, which are not a few in this edition, are to be ascribed. Each page has two columns. At the end of the second Book of Chronicles is a Hebrew postscript, which runs thus: “Praise be to God, the Creator of the world who has given us strength to commence and complete this famous work.” It was completed on the second day of Adar [i. e. February] in the year 5395 A. M. From this date we may suggest, that this edition was commenced in the year 1631, but its completion was postponed, until the unpointed edition of 1630 or 1631, 8vo, by the same publisher and editor, was almost sold, which otherwise would have prevented the sale of his splendid edition in 4to. The order of the book is rather uncommon, the Hagiographa and five Megilloth come before the earlier and later prophets. R. Simon in his *Histoire Critique* du V. T., p. 514 makes the following remark on this edition: “L’édition *in quarto*, de Menassé Ben Israel à Amsterdam en 1635, a cette commodité, qu’elle est non seulement correcte, mais aussi à deux colonnes; au-lieu que les Editions de Robert Estienne et de Plantin sont à longues lignes, et par conséquent incommodes pour la lecture.” This edition also recommends itself by being printed on white paper, and having a black clear type.

b. *Buxtorf's Rabbinic Bible*, Basle, 1618–19, 2 vols. fol.

The first part containing the Pentateuch has the following title (see the following page):

This title page is followed by Buxtorf's Latin preface; then follows a Hebrew preface, a list of the sections of the Hebrew Bible, a list of the sections according to the Masora; the Hebrew text is surrounded by the Masora, the commentaries of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Baal Ha-turim, and the Chaldee Paraphrase.

The second, third and fourth parts have each a Hebrew title-page, indicating the respective contents. Thus the second part, containing the Earlier Prophets, gives besides the Hebrew, Chaldee and Masorah, the commentaries of Rashi, D. Kimchi, Gersonides and Isaiah di Trani (the latter only on Samuel and Kings). Appended to this part with a separate Hebrew title-page are the Haphtaroth or Prophetical sections with Kimchi's commentary. Then follows Buxtorf's *Tiberias sive commentarius masorethicus triplex*, etc. 108 pages. Basileae 1665 (printed also separately).

The third part contains the prophetical books of Isaiah to Malachi with the Chaldee, Masora, the commentaries of D. Kimchi and Rashi; Ibn Ezra's commentary on Isaiah, Hosea to Malachi.

The fourth part contains the remainder of the books of the O. T., with the Chaldee (excepting Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles) and Masora. It also contains the commentaries of Rashi on Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Daniel, Ezra, Chronicles and the five Megilloth; Ibn Ezra's commentaries on the same books with the exception of Chronicles; Gersonides' commentary on Proverbs and Job; Saadia on Daniel; D. Kimchi on Chronicles. Appended to this part is the Jerusalem Targum, the Masorah finalis of Jacob ben Chayim and the variations between Ben-Asher and Ben-Naphtali.

This edition was followed by

a. The famous Rabbinic Bible of Moses Frankfurter, Amsterdam 1724-1727. 4 vols. fol., known from the initial words of its title as *Sepher Kehilloth Moshe*, i. e. the Congregation of Moses. The lengthy Hebrew title runs thus in English:

"The book of the Congregation of Moses, i. e. the Great Bible with all commentaries, page by page, which have hitherto been printed, so that nothing is wanting, viz., the Holy Scripture with the Chaldee, the commentaries of Rashi, Ibn Ezra and that of the author of the Turim, the great and small Masora. The text is translated, punctuated, and has the accents and the Masora, according to the precept of the ancient scribes, the men of the Great Synagogue, and of those who came after them, whose precepts we have observed concerning the suspended, minuscular, majuscular and inverted letters; those words which have more points than letters, and vice versa; the closed and open sections and the words which are written but not read, read but not written, as well as those letters which are crowned; all this has been carefully revised, as much as possible. Besides all this, there has been added and collected a large collection of the great and renowned wise in Israel, whose names are great, and who are known by their writings and expositions, viz., the exposition of the very learned Levi ben Gerson, that of the most excellent Rabbi Chiskuni of blessed memory, as well as the Imre Noam of the great and celebrated Rabbi Jacob de Letkas; the exposition of the famous and great physician, the celebrated Obadiah Sforno, and the shorter scholia of those learned men, which are mentioned in the preface and are entitled *Komez Mincha*. All this has been gathered together into one congregation together with an holy addition according to a nice order, and decorated with all kinds of ornaments by the learned and celebrated teacher of the law, Moses Frankfurter, judge of the holy congregation at Amsterdam, author of the book *Nephesh Jehudah*, *Zehje-nachmenu* and *Shebah Pethiloth*, the son of the very wise teacher of the law, Simeon Frankfurter of blessed memory and author of the book *Ha-chaim*, etc. His hand is still stretched out, to get a hold of the holy branches over the prophets and Hagiographa, to gather and collect them from

places and precious books, which are more precious than the topaz of Ethiopia and the gold of Ophir, which are all in general very excellent, but for the most part have not yet been printed, but are preserved in a hidden treasury, as not to be seen by a human eye. Their order and name will be given in the title of the sections of each part. Printed at Amsterdam, in the house and printing-office of the judge mentioned above, in the year 484 according to the smaller computation (i. e. A. D. 1724).

The second and third volume was published in 1726, and the last in 1727.

As to the contents of this gigantic work, which is called "the Congregation of Moses," they are as follows :

A. The *first volume*, embracing the Pentateuch, is preceded

1. By an *Index Rerum* by Obadiah Seforno.¹
2. A treatise on the design of the law, by the same ;
3. The approbations of the Synagogues of Amsterdam and Frankfort ;
4. Frankfurter's explanation of the different signatures of the authors ;
5. A preface of former rabbinical Bibles ;
6. An index of all the chapters of the Books of the O. Test.
7. An introduction by Chaskuni ;
8. An introduction by Levi ben Gershon ;
9. An introduction by Obadiah Seforno ;
10. An introduction by Abn Ezra ;

11. The Pentateuch with the Chaldee of Onkelos, in two parallel columns, surrounded by the Masora, commentaries of Rashi, Abn Ezra, Levi ben Gershon, Jacob b. Asher, Chaskuni, Jacob de Illescas, Seforno and Frankfurter, the editor.

B. The *second volume*, comprising the earlier Prophets (Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings), begins with Prefaces of D. Kimchi, Levi b. Gershon, Samuel b. Laniado, and Frankfurter, then comes the Hebrew and the Chaldee, with Commentaries by Rashi, D. Kimchi, Levi b. Gershon, Samuel b. Laniado, Frankfurter, and notes on Judges and Samuel by Isaiah de Trani. At the end of Judges (p. 97 etc.) are added the notes of Aaron b. Chajim, called "*the heart of Aaron*," on Joshua and Judges ; and at the end of Samuel (p. 278 etc.) are Meier Arama's notes on Isaiah and Jeremiah, called "*light and perfection*."

C. The *third volume*, comprising the later Prophets, i. e. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the twelve minor Prophets, begins with Prefaces by a grandson of Laniado, Frankfurter, and Be-Rab, then follow the Hebrew text and the Chaldee Paraphrase, surrounded by the Massorah, and the commentaries of Rashi and D. Kimchi, which extend over all the books in this volume ; of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah and the minor Prophets ; Be-Rab on Isaiah ; Meier Arama on Isaiah and Jere-

¹ See my article in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop. s. v. *Obadiah*, Vol. VII, p. 270.

miah; Samuel Laniado on Isaiah; Frankfurter on Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Joel, Amos, and Jonah; Almosino on Hosea, Habakkuk, and Micah; and Sephorno on Jonah, Habakkuk and Zechariah.

D. The *fourth volume*, comprising the Hagiographa, i. e. Psalms, Proverbs, Job, the Five Megilloth, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles, begins with Prefaces of Ibn Ezra, Frankfurter, Ibn Jachja, and then follow the Hebrew text and the Chaldee Paraphrase, with Commentaries of (1) *Rashi* on the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles; (2) *Ibn Ezra* on the same, with the exception of Chronicles; (3) *Ibn Jachja* on the same books as Rashi; (4) *Sephorno* on the Psalms, Job, Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes; (5) *Jaabez* on the Psalms, Job, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles; (6) *Gersonides* on Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ruth, Esther, Daniel; (7) *Frankfurter's* (מנחת ערב) on Proverbs, Ruth, Esther, and Chronicles; (8) *D. Kimchi* on Daniel and Chronicles; (9) *Menachem ha-Meiri* on Proverbs; (10) *David ibn Jachja* on Proverbs; (11) *Nachmanides* on Proverbs; (12) *Farissol* on Job; (13) *Simon Duran* on Job; (14) *Meier Arama* on the Song of Songs; (15) *Saadias* on Daniel, and (16) *Samuel Aleppo* on Psalms 119-134.

Whereupon follows the great Massora, the various readings of the Eastern and Western Codices; a treatise upon the accents and the differences between Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali.

b. *Lebenson's Rabbinic Bible* or "Mikraoth gedoloth," published at Warsaw, 1860-68, 12 vols. small folio. The text is on the whole very correct.

This gigantic work contains 32 commentaries, among others also the critical commentary of Norzi. It is divided as follows:

A. The first volume embracing *Genesis* is preceded by

1. The different approbations, written by several rabbis in favor of the undertaking;

2. The preface of Jacob ben Chayim. Then follows

3. *Genesis* with the Chaldee of Onkelos in two columns, the Massora, Toldoth Aaron and Toldoth Jacob (or an index of passages found in the Midrashim, Talmud, etc.), the commentaries of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Jacob ben Asher (בעל הטורים), Nachmanides, Sephorno, Ephraim Lencyz (כלי יקר homiletic), Elias Wilna (אליהו) אדרת אלהים grammatico-mystic, the Haphtaroth, the Jerusalem Targum, Norzi's critical commentary (מנחת שי) and S. Edels' commentary or glosses and novellas (חדושי מדרש'א).

B. The second volume, embracing *Exodus* with the contents as in *Genesis*.

C. The third volume, embracing *Leviticus*, " " " "

D. The fourth volume, embracing *Numbers*, " " " "

E. The fifth volume, embracing *Deuteronomy*, " " " "

F. The *sixth volume* embracing the *Five Megilloth* contains,

a. *Song of Songs*, with the Chaldee, the lesser and larger Massora, the index of passages found in the Talmud, etc.; the commentaries of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Sephorno, David Altschul (מצורות דור מצורות ציון), and Norzi's critical commentary (מנחת שי).

6. *Ruth*, with Chaldee, the Massora, index, commentaries of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, S. Oeda (אגרת שמואל), and Norzi's commentary.

c. *Lamentations*, like b.

d. *Ecclesiastes*, like a.

e. *Esther* with the Chaldee, Massora, index, commentaries of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Norzi, Ashkenazi (יוסף לקח), together with the preface of Ashkenazi, the second Targum on Esther and explanation of the same (ביאור).

G. The *seventh volume*, embracing Joshua, Judges, Samuel, contains :

a. *Joshua*, with the Chaldee, the Massora, index of passages, the commentaries of Rashi, D. Kimchi, Dav. Altschul, Levi ben Gershon, Elias Wilna (ביאור הגר"א) and Norzi.

b. *Judges*, like the preceding, but in place of Wilna's commentary is found that of Isaiah de Trani (פי' ר' ישעיה).

c. *Samuel*, like the preceding.

H. The *eighth volume*, embracing Kings and Chronicles, contains :

a. *Kings* with the Chaldee, Massora, index of passages, the commentaries of Rashi, Kimchi, Altschul, Levi ben Gershon, El. Wilna and Norzi.

6. *Chronicles* with the Massora, index of passages, the commentaries of Rashi, Kimchi, Dav. Altschul, Wilna and Norzi.

I. The *ninth volume*, embracing Isaiah and Jeremiah, contains :

a. *Isaiah*, with the Chaldee, Massora, index of passages, the commentaries of Rashi, Kimchi, D. Altschul, El. Wilna and Norzi.

b. *Jeremiah*, all excepting El. Wilna.

K. The *tenth volume*, embracing Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets, contains :

a. *Ezekiel*, like Isaiah :

b. The *twelve Minor Prophets*, all excepting El. Wilna, and the addition of Ibn Ezra's commentary.

L. The *eleventh volume*, embracing Psalms and Proverbs, contains :

a. *Psalms*, with the Chaldee, index, Massora, the commentaries of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Dav. Altschul and Norzi.

b. *Proverbs*, all like the Psalms with the addition of Levi ben Gershon's commentary.

M. The *twelfth volume*, embracing Job, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, contains :

a. *Job*, with all as in Proverbs.

b. *Daniel*, with the Massora, index and the commentaries of Psalms together with Saadia's commentary.

c. *Ezra*, like Daniel, but without Saadia's commentary.

d. *Nehemiah*, like *Ezra*.

Appended to this volume is a treatise on the vowel-points and accents, the Massora finalis of Jacob b. Chayim, and the various readings of the Eastern and Western Codices.

Besides the editions of the entire Bible with Rabbinical commentaries, portions of the Bible with the commentaries of one or the other Rabbi were published in the course of time, to describe which, is not our intention, as they contain nothing new, but what has already been published in the larger Rabbinic Bibles.

G. Joseph Athias' Text.

Neither the text of Hutter nor that of Buxtorf was without its permanent influence; but the Hebrew Bible which became the standard to subsequent generations was that of Joseph Athias, a learned rabbi and printer at Amsterdam. This text was based on a comparison of the previous editions with two MSS.; one bearing date 1299; the other a Spanish MSS., boasting an antiquity of 900 years. The first edition of this new text was published at Amsterdam, 2 vols. 8vo, 1661, with the title:

Biblia Hebraica correcta et collata cum antiquissimis et accuratissimis exemplaribus manuscriptis et hactenus impressis Amstelodami, Typis et sumptibus Josephi Athias. Anno M.DC.LXI.

This is the first edition in which each verse is numbered.

A second edition with a preface by Leusden was published in 1667 with the title:

Biblia Hebraica accuratissima, notis hebraicis et lemmatibus latinis illustrata a Johanne Leusden Philosophiae doctore et Linguae sanctae in Academia Ultrajectina Professore. Amstelodami, typis et sumptibus Josephi Athiae. Anno CIOIOLXVII. 8vo.

These Bibles were much prized for their beauty and correctness, and a gold medal and chain were conferred on Athias in token of their appreciation of them by the States General of Holland.

The Hebrew text is preceded by Leusden's preface, in which he speaks, (1) *de ipso textu hebraeo*, (2) *de notis latinis exteriori margini adscriptis, continentibus argumentum textus*, and (3) *de notis hebraicis in exteriori et interiori margine annotatis*. Then follow (1) the approbation of the Amsterdam Rabbis in Hebrew and Latin; (2) The testimony of the Jewish correctors, Hebrew and Latin; (3) the testimonies of the Leyden theologians, signed by *Abr. Heidanus* and *Joh. Coccejus*; (4) of the Leyden Professor of the Hebrew language *Allard Uchtmann*; (5) of the Utrecht professors *Gisb. Voetius*, *Andr. Essens* and *Fr. Burmann*; (6) of the Groningen theologian *Jacob Alting*; (7) of *Christian Schotanus*, professor of theology at Franeker; (8) *Joh. Terentius*, professor of Hebrew at Franeker. All these

testimonials speak very highly of this edition. The Preface assures, that such pages, which had a mistake, were reprinted in order to have a text as correct as possible. But this work, like any other human work, soon proved itself not to be faultless. *Samuel Maresius* published in 1669 an epistle, in which he especially blames the editor and the correctors for not having noted in Ps. 22:17 besides the Kethib, the Keri. Against this Athias published a brochure: *Caecus de coloribus, hoc est, Josephi Athiae justa defensio contra ineptam, absurdam et indoctam reprehensionem V. Celeberr. D. Samuel Maresii, qua judicat tanquam coecus de praestantissima et ubique celebrata Bibliorum Hebraicorum editone anni 1667, in epistola ad amicum nuper divulgata*; Amstelodami, typis auctoris, 1669. For this brochure, Athias was summoned before the court, where he, however, denied its authorship. Alting, who mentions this fact (in his *epist. XLV.*, part V. of his works, p. 374), adds that he believes Leusden to be the author. Gerhard Meier also published a pamphlet on this whole transaction, entitled: *Sphalmata Bibliorum Leusdenii atque Athiae*. Viteb. 1684, 4to. Jablonski, in the preface to his Hebrew Bible of 1696, § 3 speaks thus of this edition: "Biblia illa Athiae nitidissima sunt, in literis quidem perraro, in vocalibus frequentius, in accentibus saepissime aberrare correctores Athiani deprehenduntur." And § 8, "Variant inter se quaedam exemplaria, quae annum editionis praeferunt 1667. A Cl. Leusdenio edoctus sum, Athias primum decrevisse exemplaria Bibliorum imprimere 4500. Postquam vero 4 aut 5 plagulas impressisset, statuisset numerum illum quingentis exemplaribus augere, plagulas istas sequenti anno impressas fuisse a Leusdenio non correctas. In prioribus leguntur יצא־נח cum Maccaph: in posterioribus sine Maccaph, Genes. 8:18.

The progeny of the text of Athias was as follows: That of

1. Clodius' Editions,

OR

a. *Biblia Testamenti Veteris idiomate authentico expressa, versibus, Capitibus, et Paraschajoth, sive sectionibus interstincta, Masoretharum, Kri, Ktif et quae sunt ejus generis notis instructa variantibus lectionibus Orientalium et Occidentalium, Ben Asher et Ben Naphtali, et quae praeterea in editionibus Plantini, Bombergii, Basilienesi, Hispanica Regia, et Anglicana Polyglotta, deprehensae fuerunt, adaucta, latinisque Summariis vel Lemmatibus illustrata. Opera et studio David Clodii, Ling. Oriental. in alma Gissena Ordinarii, etc. Francofurth ad Moenum, typis et impensis Balthas. Christ. Wustii. Anno MDC.LXXVII. large 8vo.*

Besides this Latin title, there is also on the right page a very faulty Hebrew one.

After a dedication of the publisher to the: *Celeberrimarum Academicarum in Germania Theologiae atque Philologiae Doctoribus et Professoribus viris admodum reverendis, amplissimis atque excellentissimis, omnibus ac singulis Dominis et Patronis meis*

honoratissimis salutem et officia, follows Clodius' preface, in which he speaks of the editions, which he perused for his Bible. "Ut autem constet, quibus usus fuero codicibus, scias me *Plantini* habuisse *duos*; in octava, ut vocant, unum, qui anno aerae, Judaicae secundum supputationem minorem 326. Alterum in *quarto*, qui anno ejusdem aerae 340. sive circiter annum aerae Christianae 1566 et 1580 excusi fuerunt. Praeterea ad manus quoque fuit *Bombergii* in *Folio*, qui vulgo Editio *Veneta major*, utpote Venetiis anno aerae Hebraeorum, seu circa annum nostrae 1525 impressa. Huic adjungebam ejusdem Bombergii Editionem in *quarto*, quae anno aerae Judaicae, ut ipsa habet inscriptio 1278 (quod in annum Christi 1520 incidet) Venetiis prodiiit. Deinde et *Basiliensem* in folio (vulgo *Buxtorffii* major, item *Masorethica*) dictam, et *Menasse ben Israelis*, Amstelodami anno Christi 1635, impressam consului; porro usus sum et *Bened. Ariae Montani*, Codice eo qui munificentissime obstetricante Rege Hispaniarum Anno a nato Christo 1572 lucem primo vidit, unde et Editio *Regia* ut plurimum et *Hispanica* cum ab aliis tum in hac Editione salutatur. Denique et *Anglicanam Polyglottam*, *Celeberrimi Waltoni* foetum nobilissimum, in consilium adhibui, utpote quae Editiones omnes et singulae, omnium consensu accuratiores semper habitae fuerunt. In his igitur quodcumque discrepabat a *Leusdeniana*, mendi aut erroris non suspectum, annotavi sedulo, unico tantum omisso, quando nimirum in appositione τοῦ Metegh differabant inter se... reliquas vero lectiones variantes, summa fide observatas, in editione hac, sub columna, additis editionum noninibus reperire licebit." He then speaks of the care exhibited in the correction of the proofs, especially a Jewish physician, Leo Simon, is mentioned, who had to do this work. After this Latin preface comes a preface written in Hebrew by said Leo Simon. This edition may be reckoned among the better ones, and is especially valuable on account of the various readings, given under the text. Jablonski, however, in the preface to his Hebrew Bible, § 5, speaks thus of this edition: "Vir ille doctissimus et plurima, quae styllum censorium merebantur, intacta praeteriit, et quaedam bene habentia, cum mendi suspecta haberet, corrupit, alibi Athianos errores novo errore auxit, non tollendo menda sed mutando, ac denique per suam a loco impressionis absentiam cavere non potuit, ne Typothetarum et correctorum ἀβλεψία plurimis in locis sphalmata irreperant; quibus rebus factum est, ut quamvis D. Clodius aliquot Paroramatum centurias in Athia feliciter correxerit, Bibliorum Clodianorum tamen Paroramata (quibus secunda cumprimis editio ad nauseam scatet) Athiana aliquot millibus vincant. Ea utem minus Viri saepius laudati labor nobis ex asse faciebat satis, quod is solius fere Analogiae Grammaticae et codicum quorundam impressorum subsidio fretus, ad Biblici Textus recensionem accessisset, absque manuscriptis codicibus, absque Masorae collatione absque recentis illius, et docti Hebraeorum critici, R. *Menachem de Lonzano* in Tractatu *Or Thora*, suffragio, imo absque penitior accentuationis metricae cognitione, quod postremum in causa fuit, cur Vir.

Clariss. post Libros Vet. Testamenti Prosaicos solerter recensitos, in Metricis, veluti animum despondens, non difficiliora solum, verum et quae cuivis facile in oculos incurrerant, intacta transmiserit.

b. *Biblia Hebraica*, prout illa antehac diligenti opera, atque studio Davidis Clodii, Lingu. orient. in alma Gissena quondam P. P. versibus, capitibus et Parschajoth sive sectionibus interstincta, Masoretarum Kri, K'tif, et quae sunt ejus generis, notis instructa, Variantibus Lectionibus, Orientalium et Occidentalium; ben Ascher et ben Naphtali et quae praeterea in Editionibus Plantini, Bombergii, Basiliensi, Hispanica Regia et Anglicana Polyglotta, deprehensae fuerunt, adaucta, Latinisque Lemmatibus illustrata prodire. Accurate recognita a Joh. Henrico Majo, SS. Th. D. ejusdemque ut et Lingu. Orient. Prof. Ordin. in Academ. Gissena et ultimo revisa a Johanne Leusdeno, in Academ. Ultraject Ling. sacrae. Prof. P. Francofurti ad Moenum, typis et impensis Balthas. Christoph. Wustii, Sen. MDCXCII. large 8vo. Some copies have by a mistake the date MDCCXII.

In this edition, besides the different prefaces of the first, a preface of Majus and of Leusden, are also printed. The latter says: "Ego bona fide testor, me summa cum diligentia et attentione tota Biblia a capite ad calcem perlegisse, et judicare, hanc editionem esse accuratam, magnamque diligentiam circa illam esse adhibitam, eamque multis parasangis priori esse praeferendam." For want of space a part of the different readings are given at the end of the book, and for this reason, the first edition is by far superior to the second.

c. *Biblia hebraica ad optimorum tam impressorum, speciatim Clodii, Leusdenii, Jablonskii, Opatii, quam manuscriptorum aliquot codicum fidem collata, Direxit opus, novas capitum inscriptiones praefationemque adposuit D. Joh. Henr. Majus. Collationem vero sedulam instituit, annotationem et interpretum vocum ἀπαξ ἢ δις λεγόμενων, cetera denique emendatae editionis sive requisita, sive ornamenta, quanto potuit accurato studio, addidit M. Georgius Christianus Bärcklin, illustris Paedagogii Gissensis Praeceptor. Francofurti ad Moenum. Impensis Joannis Philippi Andreae. Anno MDCCXVI. 4to.*

The title is followed by an address to the reader, written by Majus, in which he states, that to the editions already used before, he has also compared Münster's edition of 1546, the Venice edition of 1613, and that of Geneva of 1618 and some ancient MSS. After this address follows Bärcklin's "Observationes." In spite of all the care, to print as correct an edition as possible, some mistakes have been left, thus Isa. 1:16, רחצו for רחקו; 41:22 הרשנות, for הראשנות; Jer. 4:18; על for ער; 23:21 עליהם for אליהם; Ezk. 40:25 סביב for סביב; Hos. 7:16 לאנס for לעגם; Amos. 7:10 בית for בים; Lam. 5:22 כי for כים, Ps. 75, אסף for אסף; etc. The collection of various readings in the former editions, are also omitted. Otherwise the type is very clear and sharp.

2. *Jablonski's Editions,*

OR

a. *Biblia Hebraica cum notis hebraicis et lemmatibus latinis ex recensione Dan. Ern. Jablonski Sereniss. Elect. Brandenb. a Sacris et Ecclesiarr. Unit. Ffor. per Polon. major. et Pruss. Senioris. Ad calcem subjungitur clar. Viri. Joh. Leusdeni Catalogus posthumus 2294, selectorum versuum quibus omnes voces V. T. continentur, edita opera et impensis Joh. Henr. Knebelii, Collegae Gymnasii Electoralis Joachimici, Berolini MDCIC, large 8vo or 4to.*

For this edition Jablonski collated all the cardinal editions, together with several MSS., and bestowed particular care on the vowel-points and accents, or as he expresses himself in his preface § 6, 7. "Editionem, quam sequeremur, selegimus A. Leusdeni posteriorem, quae anno 1677, prodiit. Verum ipsam non ita presso pede sequuti sumus, ne passim ab ea non nihil discedendum esse putaremus. Proprio itaque studio Bibliorum recensionem aggressuri, ex editionibus impressis eas, quae reliquarum quasi cardinales videbantur, selegimus, Bombergianam, Venetam, Regiam, seu Ariae Montani [Hebraeo-latinam], Basileensem Buxtorfii et Hutterianam, quibuscum editionem Menassiss et aliarum passim contulimus. Praeterea usi sumus codice Ms. Bibliothecae Electoralis duplicis. Codice item e Bibliotheca Serenissimi Principis Anhaltino Dessaviensis. His plures alios Codices conjunximus. Ab his subsidiis instructi, editionis Athianae voces singulos singulosque apices ad examen revocavimus, atque ad analogiam Grammaticae et Accentuationis exegimus, sicubi ab ea deflectere animadvertere-mus, Codices Masoramque impressam et manuscriptam inspeximus, Menachemum et Commentarios Rabbiorum Grammaticos, cum primis Salomonis ben Melech contulimus." This edition is regarded as one of the most correct ones, although it claims no infallibility, for, says Jablonski in § 27: "Ceterum, Lector, postquam quidquid nostrarum erat virium praestitimus, scias, nec nihil nos praestitisse, nec omnia, ita enim non nulla emendavimus, ut plurima aliis emendanda relinqueremus. Restant dubia circa Accentus, Vocales, Literas, Voces, Notas marginales masorethicas, quin circa Hemistichia et versus integros, in quibus enodandis industriam suam, qui volet, utiliter exercebit.

b. *Biblia Hebraica, in gratiam Philologorum recens edita, subjungitur Cl. Joh. Leusdeni Catalogus 2294, selectorum versuum, quibus omnes voces V. T. continentur. Ex officina D. E. Jablonski, D. cujus Praefatiuncula praemittitur, Berolini, Anno Domini MDCCXII. 12mo.*

This edition is the last of Jablonski's, but less correct, and the same may be said of the one, published in 1711, 24mo, without the vowel-points.

The first edition of 1699 formed the basis of

J. H. Michaelis' Hebrew Bible,

OR

Biblia Hebraica ex aliquot manuscriptis et compluribus impressis codicibus, item masora tam edita, quam manuscripta aliisque Hebraeorum criticis diligenter recensita. Praeter nova lemmata textus in Pentateucho accedunt loca scripturae parallela verbalia et realia brevesque annotationes, quibus nucleus Graecae LXX. interpretum et O O. versionum exhibetur, difficiles in textu dictiones et phrases explicantur, ac dubia resolvuntur, ut succincti commentarii vicem praestare possint. Singulis denique columnis selectae variantes lectiones subjiciuntur. Cura ac studio Jo. Henrici Michaelis, S. S. Th. Doct., etc. etc. et ex parte opera sociorum, ut pluribus in praefatione dicitur. Halae Magdeburgicae, typis et sumtibus Orphanotrophei, MDCCXX, 8vo and 4to.

For this edition Michaelis compared 5 Erfurt MSS. and 19 printed editions, viz. (1) *Biblia Rabb. Bombergi* anno 1517; (2) *Biblia Rabb. Veneta* 1618; (3) *Buxtorfii bibl. Rabb.* 1620; (4) *Bombergiana* 1518, 4to; (5) *Rob. Stephani* 1543 in 4to; (6) *Biblia Regia Antwerpiana* 1571 fol.; (7) *Biblia Plantiniana* 1566, 4to; (8) *Polygl. Sanct.-Andreana* 1587; (9) *Biblia Hebr. Hutteri* 1587; (10) *Polygl. Anglicana* 1657; (11) *Biblia Hebraeo-latina Lipsiensis* 1657; (12) *Biblia Hebr. Athiae secunda* 1667; (13) *Bibl. Hebr. Clodii* 1676; (14) *Rob. Stephani bibl. minora* 1546; (15) *Bombergi* 1521, 4to; (16) *Bragadini Venet.* 1614, 4to; (17) *Bragadini Venet.* 1678; (18) *Hartmanni Francof.* 1595, 4to; (19) *Opitii*, 1709, 4to.

In the second chapter of the preface Michaelis speaks "*de ipso codice Hebraeo, ejusque partitione et integritate*;" in the third "*de variis lectionibus codicis Hebraei*;" in the fourth "*de Masora sive doctrina critica Hebraeorum*," and in the fifth "*de ipsa editione nostra, et ad eam adnotatis*." In spite of its deficiencies, this edition is much esteemed, partly for its correctness, and partly for its notes and parallel references: Davidson pronounces it superior to van der Hooght's in every respect except legibility and beauty of type.

Michaelis' text is said to have been the basis of the so-called

Mantuan-Bible

with the critical commentary of Norzi. This critical commentary, which is little known among Christian writers, is the best source for critical information concerning the Hebrew text of the O. T., and no student of the sacred text can dispense with it. Before giving a description of the work we must speak of the critical labors of Norzi's predecessors and the more so, as Norzi repeatedly refers to them.

The first critical apparatus that was written, is that of Meir ha-Levi, a native of Burgos and inhabitant of Toledo, known by abbreviation as Ha-Ramah (הרמ"ה), by patronymic as Todrosus (+ 1244), and is entitled ספר מסורת ס"ג לתורה

i. e. the *Massora, the Hedge of the Law*. This work, which was published 500 years after the author's death, at Florence in 1750, then again Berlin 1761, is a Massoretic lexicon, arranged in alphabetical order, according to the roots. Having collated many MSS., he endeavored to ascertain the true reading in various passages.

This work was of high repute among the Jews. At a late period Rabbi Menachem de Lonzano collated ten MSS. chiefly Spanish, some of them five or six centuries old, with Bomberg's quarto Bible of 1544. The results were given in the work *Or Torah* or Light of the Law, printed at Venice, 1618 and less accurately, Amsterdam, 1659. As this work is now very rare, the following will be of interest to the student. The title is *Or Torah*, i. e. the Light of the Law, or the first finger of the book entitled the *Two Hands*, which has written our honorable teacher Menachem de Lonzano and wherein you find complete and accurate rules for writing the law, in accordance with the precepts of the scribes, also the open and closed sections according to MSS., and all cases of plene and defective, which you can see with your own eyes. Printed at Amsterdam, in the month of Ijar, in the year 419 according to the smaller computation, in the house of Uri, the son of Aaron, the Levite, whom God may keep.

The work, including the title-page, consists of 27 folios, small 4to, printed in small but sharp rabbinic letters. As to the object of the work, the author speaks thus of it on the last page:

"Be it known to the learned reader, that these annotations are useful to every one, but especially to him, who is in possession of the large Bomberg-Bible, according to the second edition, or of the small one of the year 304, because I have examined and compared both these editions, letter by letter, with their points and accents, and have especially been mindful of the plene and defective words, as well as of the open and closed sections. The other editions, which may be perhaps less careful, I have not seen. Wherever you find the sign ס"ס it denotes ספר' ספר [i. e. Spanish MSS.], which are correct and reliable, and for which I have quoted trustworthy witnesses, as R. Abraham ben Dior who in his annotations to Maimonides' treatise 'the blessings' (towards the end of the first chapter) says 'no one needs to hesitate since it is a Spanish MS., R. Moses ben Nachman, who in his book, entitled 'the wars,' towards the end of the chapter, commencing with ה'רואה says 'the Spanish MSS. are more trustworthy than ours.' These annotations then, I have collected from more than 10 MSS., each of which was written for not less than 100 florins. Some are from 5 to 600 years old. Besides I have also used different MSS. of the Massora, the work מסורת ע"י לתורה of Meir of Todrosus, Meiri's קרית ספר, D. Kimchi's עט סופר, the book שמן ששון and other works. Should any one have any doubts concerning a passage, let him ask me, and by the help of God, I will answer everything, especially when he comes to my house. Menachem de Lonzano."

A more important work was that of R. Solomon Norzi of Mantua in the 17th century, published under the title "*Minchath Shai*." Jedidja Solomon ben Abraham di Norzi, was born in Mantua about 1560, and derived his family name from the fact that his parents resided in Norzi or Norica, a small town in the district of Spoleto. He is the author of a critical and Massoretic commentary on the entire Hebrew scriptures. To render his critical labors as complete as possible, and to edit the Hebrew text in as perfect a condition as solid learning and conscientious industry could make it, Norzi left no resources untouched. He searched through the Midrashim, the Talmud, and the whole cycle of rabbinic literature for various readings. He consulted all the Massoretic works, both published and unpublished; he collated all the MSS. from Toledo of the year 1277, now cod. de Rossi 782; he compared all the best printed editions, and availed himself of the learning and critical labors of his predecessors and friends, especially of the MS. work by Meir Todrosus and of the coöperation of his friend Menachem de Lonzano, who also furnished Norzi with important MSS. from his own library. Norzi called his work "the Repairer of the Breach," after Isa. 58:12, which however was left in MS., as the author died about 1630. For about 112 years it remained thus, until it was edited by Raphael Chayim Basila, and published with the Hebrew text, under the altered title "*Minchath Shai*," a Gift Offering, the oblation of Solomon Jedidja, Mantua 1742-44 in four parts and 2 vols. 4to. Basila, the learned editor, added some notes, and also appended a list of 900 variations. A second edition appeared in Vienna, 1816. Norzi's commentary is also reprinted in the latest Rabbinic Bible, published at Warsaw, 1860-1866 (see above F.b).

Basila's edition of Norzi's commentary, together with the Hebrew text, is best known as

The Mantuan Bible,

OR

The Bible with the Commentary of Jedidja Solomon Norzi, called *Minchath Shai* . . . Mantua 1742-1744. This Bible published "In Mantova con licenza de Superiori" consists of 4 parts in large quarto. The first part contains besides the Pentateuch and the five Megilloth, the names of the accents and a key to their cantillation, prayers to be said before reading the Haphtaroth and four pages containing variations of vowels and accents; the second part contains the former prophets and one page of variations; the third part, the latter prophets and two pages of variations; the fourth part contains the Hagiographa, a preface, two pages of variations and five pages containing rules concerning the reading of the letters begadkephath and the Sheva. The first and second parts were published in 1742, the others in 1744. The text has the vowel-points. The pages and chapters are numbered. The inner margin contains the Keris and the 613 precepts. Below the text on each page, the rabbinico-critical commentary of Norzi is given.

The helps employed in this commentary, are (1) MSS. of the Massora, one which formerly belonged to the Rabbis of Toledo; (2) correct codices, to which belong such as have the Massora or not. Of the codices, which he mentions are the following: the Pentateuch of Jericho; the codex Sanbuki; the codex of Ezra; a synagogue scroll of R. Meir Levi with the certificate of the Rabbis of Burgos; a correct Synagogue Scroll; a Synagogue Scroll of Gersonides; a Jerusalem Codex; Spanish Codices; correct Toledan codices; a copy of Hillel's codex; a codex of Toledo; codices from Germany, Egypt, Turkey, Jerusalem and Babylonia, and MSS. 400 years old; (3) old and new printed Bibles, especially one printed at Naples [probably from the year 1487], Portugal and Venice; (4) both Talmuds, the Midrashim and the most prominent commentators and exegetes. From these sources it will be seen that this edition is one of the most complete critico-masoretic Bibles, which we have, and which on account of its rarity has not been studied as much as it deserved. The introduction of Norzi to his commentary, has recently been edited by Dr. Ad. Jellinek, Vienna, 1876.

3. *Van der Hooght's,*

OR

Biblia Hebraica. secundum ultimam editionem Jos. Athiae, a Johanne Leusden denuo recognitam, recensita atque ad Masoram, et correctiores Bombergi, Stephani, Plantini, aliorumque editiones, exquisite adornata variisque notis illustrata ab Everhardo van der Hooght, V. D. M. Editio longe accuratissima. Amstelodami et Ultrajecti, ediderunt Boom, Waesberge, Goethals, Borstius, Wolters, Halma, van de Water, et Broedelet. CIOIOCCV. 2 vols. 8vo.

This edition of good reputation for its accuracy, but above all for the beauty and distinctness of its type, deserves special attention, as constituting our present *textus receptus*. The text was chiefly formed on that of Athias, no MSS. were used for it, but it has a collection of various readings from printed editions at the end. The Masoretic readings are given in the margin.

The title is followed by a long and learned preface of van der Hooght, then come the testimonials of different faculties, which are signed by such men as Trigland, Witsius, Vitringa, Leydecker, Rhenferd, Reland and others.

In spite of all the excellencies, which this edition has above others, there are still a great many mistakes to be found therein, as Bruns has shown in *Eichhorn's Repertorium für bibl. und morgenländische Litt.* xii p. 225 sq.

The following editions are either printed from or based on van der Hooght's text:

I. *Proops'* editions or 1, *Biblia Hebraea cum vetustissimis atque optimae notae tam MSS. quam typis excusis codicibus diligenter collata, et secundum veterum scribarum ac Masoretharum correctiones examinata. Notulis קרי et כתב et ubique fideliter appositis, ad variantes lectiones rite ac more majorum legendas ac*

pronunciandas, litteris, vocalibus et accentibus cum omni cura atque industria revisis. (Amstelodami 1724) large 8vo.

Besides the Latin title, this edition has also: "the twenty and four i. e. the Law, the Prophets and Hagiographa, printed according to the precepts of the Scribes, and freed with all possible care from all mistakes of former editions. Amsterdam by and in the house of Solomon ben Joseph Proops, bookseller; in the year: he shall build a house to my name (i. e. 484 or 1724 A. D.) Among the testimonials, concerning the correctness of this edition, is one of the famous Surenhusius, who speaks of it very highly. It gives the text of van der Hooght divested of all notes and Latin annotations.

2. *Biblia en dos columnas Hebrayco y Espanol*, Amsterdam, en casa y a Costa Joseph, Jacob y Abraham Salomon Proops, 1762 fol.

II. *Biblia Hebraica secundum editionem Belgicam Everardi van der Hooght, collatis aliis bonae notae Codicibus una cum versione latina* Sebast. Schmidii. Lipsiae, sumptibus Wolfgangi Deer. MDCCXL. 4to.

The Hebrew text is accompanied by Schmid's Latin translation, which is regarded as one of the best. The text is preceded by Clodius' preface, van der Hooght's preface, and the approbation of the Strassburg faculty.

III. *Biblia Hebraica sine punctis* Accurante Nath. Forster. 2 vols. Oxonii, e typographeo Clarendoniano, typis et sumptibus Academicis, 1750. 4to.

This is the first edition of the Hebrew Bible, except that in the Polyglot, printed in England.

IV. Simoni's editions, or

a. *Biblia Hebraica manualia adoptimus quasque editiones recensita, atque cum brevi lectionum masorethicarum, Kethiban et Krijan resolutione ac explicatione, ut et cum dictionario omnium vocum Veteris Testamenti hebraicarum et chaldaicarum, in usum studiosae juventutis edita a Johanne Simonis, Halae Magdeburgicae, sumptibus H. Gottl. Bierwirthii, 1752, 8vo.*

Simoni's intention was to publish a correct and cheap reprint of van der Hooght's text. But in preface the editor confesses, that he did not achieve his end, hence many mistakes have crept into the text. The bookseller, Jacob Wetstein, of Amsterdam, who received a number of copies of this edition, sold them with a new title page, bearing the date 1753.

b. *Biblia Hebraica manualia ad praestantiores editiones accurata. Accesserunt.* 1. *Analysis et explicatio variantium lectionum, quas Ketibh et Keri vocant.* (2) *Interpretatio epicriseon masorethicarum singulis libris biblicis subjectarum.* (3) *Explicatio notarum marginalium textui S. hinc inde additarum.* (4) *Dictionarium omnium vocum Vet. Testamenti hebraicarum et chaldaicarum denuo emendatius editum.* Cura et studio Johannis Simonis. Editio secunda emendatior. Halae sumptibus Orphanotrophei 1767. large 8vo.

This second edition is much superior to the first.

c. A third and fourth edition corrected and with a preface by Rosenmüller was published, Halle, 1822, 1828.

V. *Houbigant's edition* or *Biblia Hebraica cum notis criticis et versione latina ad notas criticas facta. Accedunt libri Graeci, qui Deutero-Canonici vocantur, in tres classes distributi. Auctore Carolo Francisco Houbigant, Oratorii Jesu Sacerdote. Lutetiae Parisiorum MDCCLIII. 4 vols. fol.*

In this edition the Hebrew text is divested of points, and of every vestige of the Massora, which Houbigant, though he used it, rated at a very low value. In the notes copious emendations were introduced. They were derived—a, from the Samaritan Pentateuch, which Houbigant preferred in many respects to the Hebrew; b, from twelve Hebrew MSS., which, however, do not appear to have been regularly collated, their readings being chiefly given in those passages where they supported the editor's emendations; c, from the Septuagint and other ancient versions; and d, from an extensive appliance of critical conjecture. An accompanying Latin translation embodied all the emendations adopted. The notes were reprinted at Frankfort-on-Maine, 2 vols. 4to, 1777. They constitute the cream of the original volumes, the splendor of which was disproportionate to their value, as they contained no materials besides those on which the editor directly rested. The whole work was indeed too ambitious; its canons of criticism were thoroughly unsound, and its ventures rash. Yet its merits were also considerable, and the newness of the path which Houbigant was essaying may be pleaded in extenuation of its faults. It effectually broke the Masoretic coat of ice wherewith the Hebrew text had been incrustated; but it afforded also a severe warning of the difficulty of finding any sure standing-ground beneath." (Smith, *Bible Dict.*, s. v. *O. Test*).

VI. *The Old Testament, Hebrew and English: with remarks critical and grammatical on the Hebrew, and corrections of the English.* In four volumes. By Anselm Bayly, LL.D., Sub-Dean of his Majesty's chapel. London, printed in the year M.DCC.LXXIV. 8 maj. and 4 oblong.

This Bible is without points and accents, and as Bruns states, Bayly availed himself of the help of a certain Gumpel Levi, a Jewish physician of London.

VII. *Kennicott's edition*, or *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus edidit* Benjaminus Kennicott S.T.P. Tomus primus, Oxonii e Typographeo Clarendoniano 1776. Tomus secundus, ibidem 1780, fol.

A comparison of 2 Sam. xxii. 8 sq., with 1 Chron. xi. made Kennicott suspicious of the popular notion of the absolute integrity "of the Hebrew text. Further investigations led him to the conclusion, that the Hebrew text, like all other writings, which were handed down from remote antiquity, contained numerous mistakes and interpolations, and that a correct text could only be attained by

comparing the Hebrew MSS. What Mills and Wetstein had done for the New Testament, he intended for the Old Testament. In January, 1759, he made his purpose known to institute a collation of existing Hebrew MSS., both in England, Ireland and on the Continent, as far as time and expense would permit, and promised to publish the results of his undertaking in annual accounts, which were afterwards published under the title: *The ten annual accounts of the Collation of Hebrew MSS. of the Old Testament, begun in 1760, and completed in 1769, by Benjamin Kennicott, Oxford, 1770, 8vo.* Kennicott's plan was warmly patronized by the majority of the English clergy, and a subscription of nearly £10,000 was made to defray the expense of the undertaking. Various persons were now employed, both at home and abroad, among foreign literati, the principal was Professor Bruns, of the University of Helmstadt, who not only collated Hebrew MSS. in Germany, but went for that purpose into Switzerland and Italy. In consequence of these efforts more than 600 Hebrew MSS., and sixteen MSS. of the Samaritan Pentateuch, were discovered in different libraries in England and on the Continent, many of which were wholly collated, and others consulted in important passages. To this collation of MSS., was also added a collation of the most noted printed editions of the Bible, including those edited by the Rabbins, whose annotations, as well as the Talmud itself, were frequently consulted by Kennicott. The fruits appeared at Oxford in 2 vols. fol. 1776-80; the text is van der Hooght's unpointed; the various readings are given below. In the Pentateuch the variations of the Samaritan text, were printed in a column parallel to the Hebrew, and the variations observable in the Samaritan manuscripts, which differ from each other as well as the Hebrew, are likewise noted, with reference to the Samaritan *printed* text. Yet in spite of the labor and money spent for this undertaking, it much disappointed the expectations that had been raised. It was found that a very large part of the various readings had reference simply to the omission or insertion of the *matres lectionis*; while of the rest many obviously represented no more than the mistakes of separate transcribers. But in spite of all the deficiencies, "there can be no doubt that Kennicott was a most laborious editor. To him belongs the great merit of bringing together a large mass of critical materials. The task of furnishing such an apparatus, drawn from so many sources, scattered through the libraries of many lands, was almost Herculean, and the learned author is entitled to all the praise for its accomplishment."

VIII. Jahn's edition or *Biblia Hebraica digessit et graviores Lectionum varietates adjecit Johannes Jahn. Sumtibus Canoniae Claustroneoburgensis. Viennae, 1806, 4 vols. 8vo.* The text of van der Hooght is corrected in nine or ten places. The more important readings are subjoined from de Rossi *Variae Lectiones*; Kennicott's *Vetus Testamentum*; Montfaucon's *Hexaplorum Origenis*; Grabe's *Vetus Testamentum ex versione LXX. Interpretum*; Holme's *Septuagint*

and *Walton's Polyglot*. But with injudicious peculiarity the books are arranged in a new order: thus Ruth comes after Judges, Ezra, Esther, Nehemiah after Kings; the Chronicles are split up into fragments, for the purpose of comparison with the parallel books. In the third volume, which contains the prophets, the order is as follows: Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, Joel, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Haggai, Zechariah, Jonah, Malachi; in the fourth volume we find: Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Ecclesiastes. Of the accents only the principal ones are retained.

At the end of the fourth volume a "recensio codicum Hebraicorum collationis Kennicottianae, et Dissertatione Generali excerpta, atque observationibus Pauli Jac. Bruns. et Joh. Bern. de Rossi suppleta et emendata" is given.

IX. *Boothroyd's* edition, or *Biblia Hebraica*, the Hebrew Scriptures of the Old Testament without points, after the text of Kennicott; with the chief various readings selected from his collation of the Hebrew MSS., from that of de Rossi, and from the ancient versions, accompanied with English notes, critical, philological and explanatory, etc. Pontefract, 1810-1816, 2 vols. 4 to.

This was the first attempt to turn the new critical collations to public account, at a time when "Houbigant's principles were still in the ascendant."

X. *Biblia Hebraica recogn. I. Leusden, rec. van der Hooght*. Edit. novæ recens. a J. F. Frey, Londini, 1812, 2 vols. 8vo. This was entirely superseded by

XI. *Biblia Hebraica.....editio nova recognita, et emendata* a Judah D'Allemand, Londini, 1822 and often.

Van der Hooght's text is found in all English editions of the Hebrew Bible, published by Duncan or Bagster, and is also made the basis of

XII. The *Hexaglot Bible*: comprising the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments in the original tongues, together with the Septuagint, the Syriac (of the New Testament), the Vulgate, the authorized English, and German, and the most approved French versions, edited by Rev. E. R. de Levante, London, 1876, 6 vols. royal 4to.

XIII. *Biblia Hebraica ad optimarum editionum fidem summa diligentia ac studio recusa Societatum Biblicarum sumptibus*, Basileae, typis et industria Guillelmi Haas, 1827.

XIV. *Hahn's* editions, or *Biblia Hebraica secundum editiones Jos. Athiae Joannis Leusden, Jo. Simonis Aliorumque imprimis Everardi van der Hooght recensuit Augustus Hahn*. Editio Stereotypa, Lipsiae sumptibus et typis Caroli Tauchnitz, 1831.

This is a reprint of van der Hooght's, but corrected. On account of its usefulness, it was very often demanded, and published in 1832, 1833, 1839.

This last edition which was again republished in 1867, is superior to the former, and has the title: *Biblia Hebraica Secundum editiones Jos. Athiae, Joannis Leusden, Jo. Simonis, Aliorumque imprimis Everardi van der Hooght recensuit sectionum*

propheticarum recensum et explicationem clavemque masorethicam et rabbinicam addidit Augustus Hahn. Editio stereotypa quartum recognita et emendata. Lipsiae sumtibus et typis C. Tauchnitzii, 1839. For this edition were compared "laudatissimas librorum sacrorum editiones *Benjamini Heidenheim*, cujus Pentateuchus מאור עינים Roedelhemii a. 1818-1821. V. P. P. 8. prodiit, et *Jedidjae Salomonis Norzi* (Nursini), cujus glossam masorethicam *Minchat Schaj*, primum Mantuae 1742, editum, Vetus Testamentum cum commentariis Vindobonae a. 1813-16. 4 (ex officina Georgii Holzinger) denuo impressam continet." (Pref. p. iv). Special attention has also been given to the accents, as is also indicated in the same preface.

Hahn's text has also been reprinted in the *Polyglot of Stier and Theile*, Elberfeld, 1847, a. o.

There is also a small edition of Hahn's Bible (in 12mo) with a preface by *E. F. C. Rosenmüller*, in small, but clear and sharp type. This edition was first published in 1834, and often since, last 1868.

XV. *Theile's* editions or *Biblia Hebraica ad optimas editiones imprimis Everhardi van der Hooght accurate recensa et expressa*. Curavit argumentique notationem et indices nec non clavem masorethicam addidit C. G. G. Theile. Editio stereotypa quarta. Ex officina Bernhardi Tauchnitz, Lipsiae, 1873, gr. 8vo.

The first edition was published in 1849 and may be regarded as one of the best Hebrew Bibles according to van der Hooght's recension. Mistakes, which were found in former Bible-editions, have been corrected; the list of various readings, which are given by van der Hooght at the end of his Bible, and which were omitted by Hahn, are here also given; the type is clear and the paper white.

At the end of the Hebrew text comes a table of the sections of the law in alphabetical order, and chapter and verse of each book; then comes the table of the Haptharoth, as they are generally given in the Bibles, which is followed by the same table, but arranged according to the order of the books, in which they are found. Then comes *Explicatio epicriseon masorethicarum*, followed by a *conspectus lectionum masorethicarum karjan et kethiban*. Then comes *Sylloge variantium in editionibus lectionum*, containing the list of various readings already given by van der Hooght, which is followed by *clavis notarum masorethicarum reliquarumque notationum ordine alphabetico digesta*.

Theile's text has been followed by Wright, in his *The Book of Genesis in Hebrew*, London, 1859.

4. *Opitz's text*,

OR

Biblia Hebraica cum optimis impressis et manuscriptis codicibus in et extra Germaniam per plurimos annos incredibili labore et diligentia collata, et juxta Masoram, Or Thora, Schaar Hanneginoth aliaque Hebraeorum principia critica sollicite exam-

inata, accuratissime emendata, et fideliter recensita, caractere, illustri expressa, capitibus, versiculis et sectionibus tam Christianis tum Judaeis usitatis, interstincta, notis Keri et Kethib instructa ac latinis summariis illustrata, studio et opera. D. Henrici Opitii, Kiloni typis et sumtibus Bartholdi Reuteri. Anno 1709, 4to.

Opitz compared for his edition 3 codd. (Berolinensem, Francofurtanum et Hamburgensem) and several editions, viz., (1) Bibl. Brixiensia, 1494; (2) Bibl. Rabbin. 1523 and 1543; (3) Biblia Heb. Bombergi, 1521 et 1525; (4) Bibl. Veneta R. Jac. Lombroso, 1639; (5) Bibl. Polygl. Sanct. Andreana, 1587; (6) Bibl. Rob. Stephani in 4to and 16mo; (7) Polygl. Antwerpensia; (8) 2 editt. minores Plantini, 1580 et 1566; (9) Bibl. Polygl. Londinensia; (10) Bibl. Rabb. Buxtorfii; (11) Bibl. H. Hutteri; (12) Bibl. Heb. Manasse Ben Israel; (13) Bibl. Hebr. Francofurt. Hartmannorum; (14) editt. Athianae.

As to the care, which he exhibited in editing his Bible, Opitz says thus: Hoc itaque instructus apparatu ad ipsum me accinxi opus et dictum Athiae codicem, tunc temporis optimum, pura interspersi charta, ut fundamenti loco mihi esset, ad quem meas congererem notas et observationes. Hinc singulo folio plicatura quadam in duo latera diviso unum variantibus, quas deprehenderem, librorum scripturis, alterum Masorae, quaeque in *Or Thora*, Schaar Hanneginoth aliisque libris criticis occurrunt observationibus destinavi. Tum vero seligens ex plurimis tunc temporis Auditoribus meis Hebraeae linguae peritiores, qui mihi in tanto opere adjumento essent, duodecim quotidie et plures meis adducti precibus, per tres quatuorve horas convenerunt, quibus ego singulis peculiare et supra dictis exemplar in manus dedi, uno eorum quam Leusdenianus Codex haberet lectionem, clara voce recitante, omnibus itaque ad ea quae dicebat, diligenter mecum attentantibus, si quae diversa ab illo codice occurreret lectio, occurrebat autem frequentissime, fideliter ea indicabatur: ubi nec ego mei immemor officii, varietatem istam, siquam probabilitatis aut veritatis speciem prae se ferret meo inserebam codici; quodsi vero manifesti proderet vitii indicia, rejeci statim, et procul abesse jussi. Quo quidem factum est, ut tantum variantis Codicum scripturae nactus fuero farraginem, ut vix chartae sufficeret angustia.—Qui quidem labor maximi certe taedii atque sollicitudinis fervente quotidie opere vix intra quatuor annos tandem fuit absolutus."

Each printed sheet he revised six times, and thus this edition became more correct than all preceding ones. The type is large, black and clear.

The text of Opitz was reprinted in

a. *Biblia sacra tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti, cum Apocryphis, secundum fontes hebraicos et graecos, cum Praefatione Christiani Benedicti Michaelis. . . . Zullochovii, impens. Orphanotrophii, 1741, large 4to.*

b. *Evangelische deutsche original Bibel. Das ist die ganze heilige Schrift Altes und Neues Testament, dergestalt eingerichtet, dass der hebräische oder griechische Grundtext und die deutsche Uebersetzung D. Martin Luthers neben einander*

erscheinen....nebst einer Vorrede Johann Muthmanns....Züllichau in Verlegung des Waisenhauses bey, Gottlob Christian Frommann. 1741, 4to.

H. Editions with a revised text.

With Van der Hooght's edition a *Textus receptus* was given, which was corrected and improved from time to time. But the more the Massora and ancient Jewish grammarians were studied, the more it was found that the present text, while on the whole correct, did not come up to the requirements and rules laid down by ancient grammarians; for as Delitzsch observes, in the edition of the Old Testament, the minutest points must be observed, trifling and pettifogging as it may be to the superficial reader, yet *lōra ēv ἡ μὲν κεφαλαί* maximi apud nos ponderis esse debet." Thus it came to pass, that "from time to time, new editions of the Hebrew text were published in accordance with the Massora." Of such editions we mention, passing over the editions of single parts of the Old Testament—

1. The edition published at Karlsruhe, 1836–1837, and edited by Epstein, Rosenfeld and others. This edition, as far as we have been able to compare it with others, is an improvement and more correct than van der Hooght's and those following it.

2. Philippsohn's *Israelitische Bibel*, Leipzig, B. Tauchnitz, jun., 1849–54, 3 vols. gr. 8vo. But this edition, says Delitzsch "quamquam textum **על פי המסרה** conformatum se exhibere praedicat, Masoreticae diligentiae vix ullum vestigium ostendit et vitiis plurimis scatet."

3. Letteris' edition, 2 vols., Wien, J. P. Solinger's Wittwe, 1852, 8vo.

This edition was reprinted by the British and Foreign Bible Society at Berlin with the corrections of Theophilus Abramsohn, 1866, A. D. latest edition, 1874. With an English title-page "*The Hebrew Bible revised and carefully examined by Myer Levi Letteris*," it was published by Wiley & Son, New York, latest edition, 1875.

A new edition, which, as we hope, will become the standard text for the future, is that commenced by Baer and Delitzsch.

As early as 1861, S. Baer in connection with F. Delitzsch published the **ספר תהלים** or *Liber Psalmorum Hebraicus. Textum Masorethicum accuratius quam adhuc factum est expressit, brevem de accentibus metricis institutionem praemisit, notas criticas adiecit* S. Baer. Praefatus est Fr. Delitzsch, Lipsiae, Dörffling & Franke MDCCCLXI. Mr. Baer, who for 17 years has made Massoretic lore his specialty, the results of which he partly gave to the public in his **תורת אמת**, Roedelheim, 1852, was best adapted for such a text, and his connection with Prof. Delitzsch, one of the greatest living Hebrew scholars, is the best guarantee, that the work is in able hands. Appended to this edition of the Psalms is a "*Specimen lectionum in hac Psalterii editione receptarum*," a comparison of which

with our present text, will at once prove the superiority of this edition above others.

An improved edition of the Psalms was published in 1874 under the title: ספר תהלות. *Liber Psalmorum Hebraicus atque Latinus ab Hieronymo ex Hebraeo conversus*. Consociata opera ediderunt C. de Tischendorf, S. Baer, Fr. Delitzsch. Lipsiae, F. A. Brockhaus, 1874. In the preface, which is prepared by Delitzsch, we got a great deal of instructive matter as to the sources used for this edition. The Hebrew and Latin text is followed by *Appendices criticae et masorethicae* of great value to the student. Both these editions are published in 12mo.

Besides the Psalms, which in their present size, were probably not intended for a complete edition of the Old Testament, they published

1. *Liber Genesis. Textum Masoreticum accuratissime expressit, e fontibus masorae varie illustravit notis criticis confirmavit*. S. Baer. Praefatus est edendi operis adjutor Fr. Delitzsch. Ex officina Bernhard Tauchnitz. Lipsiae 1869, gr. 8vo. The title fully indicates the contents of the work, which however, we will specify for the sake of such as are not in possession of the same. The Hebrew text is followed by :

- a. *Specimen lectionum in hac editione Genesis receptarum.*
- b. *Scripturae Genesis inter scholas orientales et occidentales controversae.*
- c. *Loci Genesis vocalem non productam in medio exte remove versu retinentes.*
- d. *Loci Genesis a Ben-Asher et Ben-Naphtali diverse punctis signati.*
- e. *Loci Genesis consimiles qui facile confunduntur.*
- f. *Loci Genesis lineola Pasek notati.*
- g. *Sectiones libri Genesis masorethicae.*
- h. *Conspectus notarum masoreticarum.*
- a. *Varietas scriptionis et lectionis ;*
- β. *Adnotationes masoreticae ;*
- γ. *Clausula libri.*

2. *Liber Isaiae. Textum masoreticum . . . etc.*, Lipsiae 1872.

Of this edition of Isaiah, Delitzsch says in the preface : "En habes librum Isaiae omnibus editionibus quae adhuc prodierunt multo perfectionem." The preface mentions the different editions and codices, which were used for the work, and like everything that Delitzsch writes, it is full of instruction, and like the book of Genesis, the Hebrew text is followed by *Additamenta critica et masoretica*, treating on the same points as in Genesis.

3. *Liber Jobi. Textum . . .* Lipsiae, 1875:

Opposite the title-page stands a *Fac-simile* of the *Codex Tschufutkale*, No. 8a, which gives a good specimen of the Babylonian punctuation. For Job a great deal of new material has been examined, of which the preface gives an account, and the *appendices criticae et masoreticae*, contain the cream of the whole.

4. *Liber Duodecim Prophetarum. Textum* . . . ibid. 1878.

For this edition new material has been collated and examined, among others the text of the Complutensian Polyglot. The preface as well as the *Appendices criticae et masorethicae* are here also very instructive and rich in information.

5. *Liber Psalmorum* . . . ibid., 1880. The size of this edition is the same as that of parts 1-4. It is not a reprint of the former editions of the Psalms published by Baer et Delitzsch in 1861 and 1874, but improved upon the former, as the learned preface tells us. The preface is followed by *Elementa Accentuationis Metricae* (with reference to Psalms, Job and Proverbs). Then follows the Hebrew text with the different critical appendices. The last page contains an *Index omnium quae haec psalmorum editio continet*.

6. *Liber Proverbiorum* . . . ibid., 1880. The preface is followed by a very learned treatise *De Primarum Vocabulorum Literarum Dagessatione*. The same apparatus as in the other parts is here also given, also the *Index* on the last page.

7. *Libri Danielis Ezrae et Nehemiae* . . . ibid., 1882. The preface occupying pp. i.-vi. is followed by *Glossae Friderici Delitzschii Babylonicae*, pp. vii.-xii. Then comes *Chaldaismi Biblici adumbratio* (or Chaldee Paradigms) pp. xv.-lvi., to which are appended *Adnotationes*, pp. lvii.-lx. The critical apparatus and a full index conclude this part of the Old Testament. That the editor's aim is to give a correct text may be seen from the fact, that they removed in Nehemiah vii. the reading of verse 68 from the text to the bottom of the same with the remark "that in some codices these words are here found."

8. *Liber Ezechielis* . . . ibid., 1884. The preface occupying pp. v.-ix., is followed by *Specimen Glossarii-Ezechielico Babylonici auctore Friderico Delitzsch*, pp. x.-xviii. As in other parts, here too, the text is followed by *Appendices criticae et masoreticae*, 73-133.

9. *Quinque Volumina: Canticum Canticorum, Ruth, Threni, Ecclesiastes, Esther*, ibid., 1886.

10. *Liber Chronicorum* . . . cum Praefatione Francisco Delitzsch atque commentatione Frid. Delitzsch de nomine Tiglathpilesaris, ibid., 1888.

11. *Liber Jeremiae* . . . ibid., 1890, the last part to which Delitzsch wrote the preface, he died March 20, 1890.

12. *Libri Josuae et Judicum* . . . ibid., 1891, and 13. *Liber Samuelis*, 1892, edited by Baer alone.

The Preface and appendices accompanying each part is well worthy of study.

We have thus brought down the history of the printed text of the Old Testament to our own days, covering a space of over four centuries.

➤CONTRIBUTED➤NOTES.➤

Contributions to the History of Geography.—In HEBRAICA, VIII., 65-78, I published a geographical treatise in verse, attributed to David of Beth Rabban by Assemani. I had reason to believe that my text was unpublished. But Prof. Nöldeke notified me that it had already been printed—from some other MS.—by Cardahi, in his *Liber Theasuri de arte poetica Syrorum*. Romae, 1875, p. 41. Prof. N. seems to have been the only one to notice this (by a chance lexicographical notice); but the volume is not in my own library nor in any other accessible to me in America. While in Paris last summer (1892), I had a chance of making use of the copy belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale and have noted the following variants. Unimportant variants I have omitted. Cardahi's MS. contains some additions and some readings which I think are better than in my MS. The numbers refer to the lines.

[illegible]

141. $\text{מִמֶּנִּי מִיָּדְךָ} \quad 149/4. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad \text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad \text{וְהָיָה כִּי}$
 147. $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 158. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 168. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad \text{Lines } 173/4$
 come after 174/5. 180. $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 183. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 188. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי}$
 192. + $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 195. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 197$
 $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 201. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 205. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 213. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי}$
 218. $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 223. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad \text{sing.} \quad 224. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי}$
 246. $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 236. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 239. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי}$
 $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 249. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 251. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 263. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי}$
 $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 264. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 273. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי}$
 $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 267. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 271. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי} \quad 275. \text{וְהָיָה כִּי}$
 etc.

My attention is also called by Prof. Nestle to the fact that the MS. from which the piece is taken has been lately described by G. H. Gwilliam in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, iii. 58.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

➤BOOK♦NOTICES.◀

AUS DEM BABYLONISCHEN RECHTSLEBEN (I. & II.) VON J. KOHLER UND F. E. PEISER.*

Through the publication of Strassmaier's *Babylonische Texte*, a fresh impetus has been given to the study of the legal and commercial documents of Babylonia and among those who have contributed to the recent advancement of our knowledge of this division of Assyriology, Dr. Felix E. Peiser occupies a most prominent position. Already in his *Studien zum Babylonischen Rechtswesen*, published in *ZA.*, Vol. III. (1888), he showed his adaptability for the investigation of this difficult subject and following up this important article by a publication with copious comments of the Sargon-stone and of twenty *Keilschriftliche Actenstücke* (1889), he established his reputation as an authority on the subject. After a short interval, a more elaborate work appeared under the title of *Babylonische Verträge* (1890), being the texts with transliteration, translation and commentary, of the legal documents in the Berlin Museum, together with additional material obtained at the British Museum. As Oppert's great work on the *Documents Juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée* formed the foundation for the interpretation of the legal texts, so this latter publication of Peiser's may be said to mark the beginning of a second era in their interpretation. He now follows up his study of the texts by what we may call a systematic utilization of their contents. The mere translation of the tablets, even if combined with the philological discussion of the words, is of little value unless we also draw the proper conclusions from the data supplied by the documents. This Dr. Peiser endeavors to do and we wish to commend in the first place the excellent plan he follows in securing the coöperation of the distinguished Professor of Comparative Jurisprudence at the Berlin University for the elucidation of the juridical aspects of the literature in question. Already in a previous publication—in the *Babylonische Verträge*—Dr. Kohler had made some notable contributions to the subject, but he now enters upon it at greater detail. It is manifestly impossible for the Assyriologist also to make himself an authority on questions of law. A division of the labor is necessary or rather, just such a combination as is represented by Messrs. Peiser and Kohler, the one thoroughly versed in the Babylonian literature, the other able to bring his extensive knowledge of ancient and modern jurisprudence to bear upon the forms and methods employed by the ancient Babylonians in their commercial transactions. The result is in full accord with the expectations held out. Two parts of this publication have now appeared and we are safe in saying that they constitute one of the most important publications that has yet appeared upon this branch of Babylonian literature. Divided into a series of chapters, each chapter treating of some distinct subject, the wealth of information offered may be judged by

* Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1890-91.

an enumeration of the subjects thus treated, viz., the slave trade and general status of slaves, marriage relations, banking business, guarantee, notes of indebtedness, methods of payment, and pledges. So much for the first *Heft*. In the second part, further discussion as to the status of the slave and the legal points involved in marriage settlements are entered upon, together with valuable indications as to the rights of the widow, and the law of divorce. A chapter is set aside for the important question of adoption, followed by one on testaments and inheritance. There follow, division of estates, holding property in common, and transfer of debts. Additional data to the general subject of guarantee and security are offered which modify some of the conclusions reached in the first part. A particularly complete discussion is given of the nice regulations established for sales and revocation of sales under various circumstances. Rent, and labor contracts are touched upon and an exhaustive chapter follows, on partnerships, both on their formation and on their dissolution. The second part closes with an interesting elucidation of the method by which legal suits were conducted by the Babylonians and the various kinds of punishment in the jurisdiction of the court. The plan pursued under each section is to offer illustrations of every statement made by translations of texts relating to the subject whereupon an explanation of the case involved, is given together with evidence bearing upon it chosen from other tablets. The advantage of such a method both for the specialist and the general student of sociology is obvious. The former has the material furnished to him which may be used as the starting-point for entering into further questions of detail, that must naturally be omitted in a work like the one before us; the latter obtains an insight into social conditions prevailing in antiquity that is more valuable and more satisfactory than mere statement of results. The number of texts thus introduced is very large, over one hundred being adduced in full. The translations themselves are admirable and leave little to be desired. As an introduction, therefore, to the study of the legal literature no better method could be recommended than carefully going over these texts, comparing the translations with the original and noting especially the force of the numerous legal terms involved. In the interpretation of the latter, Messrs. Peiser and Kohler are particularly happy. In this respect their work represents a notable advance over previous efforts. So in the first section, the suggestion is made that the rather puzzling phrase which one meets with a number of times in the documents, to take money "from the street," has reference to money that is actually available. The *nuance* which our authors would add of "money taken from business capital," applies to the example adduced but introduces a feature which we venture to say is not essential. In No. 31 (l. 12) of Peiser's *Babylonische Verträge*, I believe that nothing more is intended than would be conveyed by our expression "floating capital," in contradistinction to such as is "locked up" in investments or for other reasons is not available.

Again in the explanation of the cases presented, Messrs. Peiser and Kohler manifest a clearness and accuracy which inspires confidence in the results reached by them. Occasionally, however, they seem to miss the point. Thus in the explanation of Nbk 346 (p. 5) from which our authors would conclude that a "fugitive slave" might be sold. The supposition does not seem plausible and the arguments advanced despite their ingenuity, are not convincing. We believe that a better explanation of the tablet in question will be obtained if we interpret the

phrase (ll. 9-10) put *ḥiliḫu u mitutu ša Barikil...našû* not as a guarantee that the slave "is a fugitive and that he is not dead," but as a guarantee that at the time of the sale, he is neither incapacitated nor dead. The guarantee seems to be nothing more than a formula precisely like the very common one which also appears in this tablet (l. 6) of the guarantee before the *siḫi u pakiranu u aradšarrutu u mar hanûtu* officials. Just as this formula simply means that the official records of those departments of the Babylonian civity are free from any objections to the sale on the ground of rebellious conduct on the part of the slave, or of prior claims against him or claim of adoption (which removes him from the status of serfdom) so the assurance is also given that the slave is in good condition and alive. Such an assurance would be necessary in case the transaction was made, as must often have happened, in the absence of the slave. The meaning here proposed for *ḥalâḫu* "injured," i. e. incapacitated from work seems preferable to "flight," in view of V R. 25, 16-17 where the ordinary stem for "fleeing" *abâtu* is used, whereas *ḥalâḫu* immediately follows *mîtu*, the three terms, death, injury and flight thus forming a descending scale. There are other points in which we might differ from Messrs. Peiser and Kohler, e. g. on p. 2 of the first part we would suggest that the four šekels additional to the tax of one-sixth are part payment—perhaps interest—on the note against the slave held by the master, and on p. 9 (l. 2) we would answer the query whether the husband of Belti-iṭirat was dead at the time of the issue of the document discussed, in the negative, and suggest that the dowry at the time of marriage was paid into the hands of the father of the groom to form part, as it seems, of the family estate—a custom for which Nbn 243 offers confirmatory evidence; and more the like. But the value of the work is in no way impaired by such differences of opinion that must naturally exist and continue to exist for some time in a comparatively new field of investigation. Messrs. Peiser and Kohler would be the last to claim that they have satisfactorily solved all the problems touched upon in their work. When, as in the case of "security" regulations, they enter upon an exhaustive investigation, they leave little for their successors to do, but they very properly touch in a cursory manner upon matters for which the material is as yet insufficient, satisfied with having suggested problems and pointed out the way in which they are to be treated and solved. It is method above all that is at present needed in Assyriological research and especially in the case of the legal documents where hasty guess-work and crude discussions with insufficient knowledge of legal methods and forms, on the part of some scholars, have done a good deal of mischief. There will be less excuse than ever for blundering, after the clear exposition that our authors have given of the way in which the "contracts" must be studied. We understand that two more numbers of the *Studien* may be expected. We look forward to the continuation of the work with great interest, confident that the high standard characterizing what has already appeared will be maintained. In conclusion we would like to offer the suggestion that upon the completion of the work, Dr. Peiser will furnish substantial indices such as he with commendable consistency has supplied to his previous publications. A book without an index is like a pitcher without a handle—hard to manage. Among these indices should be one in which under appropriate headings, such as slave, marriage, house, pledge, rent, notes, and the like, (arranged alphabetically,) the data furnished by the tablets

discussed should be briefly indicated with references of course to the tablets, and to the passage or passages in the publication itself where the subject is touched upon. The work is not intended merely for the specialist and we recommend it most heartily to the attention of students of antiquity in general.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.,

May, 1892.

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SOME RECENT GERMAN WORKS.

It is a singular coincidence that just as the English theological world has been favored with such superior works as Driver's "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament," and a beginning of the Gesenius-Robinson Hebrew Lexicon as revised by Brown, Driver and Briggs, two German works have appeared which practically cover the same ground, and do this from essentially the same standpoint and on the basis of the same scientific methods and principles. These works are first the *Hebraeisches Woerterbuch zum Alten Testament*, by Dr. Carl Siegfried, of Jena, and Dr. Bernhard Stade, of Giessen (Leipzig: Verlag von Veit and Company. 1892-93. Size 9½ x 7 inches, pp. 978 in two parts. Price of both parts 15 marks), and secondly, the *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, by Dr. C. H. Cornill, Professor in Königsberg (Freiburg: Mohr. 1891. Size 9 x 6 inches, pp. xii, 325. Price 7.50 mark). Of this work the second edition has made its appearance. In both cases the palm, as students' books, can be given, we believe justly, to the English works; as these, notwithstanding the fact that the German works contain some excellencies not found in the English, are by their matter and manner best adapted for independent work and research on the part of the investigator. This is especially true of the lexicon. While the German lexicons may possibly claim superiority by the fulness with which some shades of meanings are developed and separated; yet the entire absence of etymologies and comparisons with the other Semitic tongues; the comparative meagerness of the references to the Old Testament usages, in which respect the English work falls little short of a complete concordance, placing almost the entire working material at the disposal of the students; the fact that it is not arranged on the basis of the stem system, as the English work is; the further fact that the English will probably bring one-fourth more material, and in general makes the processes of evolving the meanings at least practically if not *ex professo* a matter of great prominence, while the German really gives only the results without the processes, —all these characteristics show that both from a strictly scientific standpoint, as also when we consider the practical needs of the conscientious student who does not blindly swear *in verba magistri* or heed the *ipse dixit* of even an acknowledged authority, but aims to discover the why and wherefore of important results, the English is a work of greater value for the independent Old Testament student than the German, although the latter will at times aid where the former fails.

The Siegfried-Stade work aims at defining the Old Testament words as these appear in the light of modern literary and historical criticism. It has been the constant complaint that the old Gesenius lexicon has in recent decades fallen into the hands of its enemies. It is true that Gesenius was a rationalist, and in so far

as the lexicon could reflect the theological attitude of the author (which was not the case fifty and more years ago in anything like the same degree that it now is), the older editions of Gesenius were true to the author's views, and was so to a great extent even after it came into Rödiger's hands. Indeed, this feature was so pronounced that not a few English and American scholars refused for years to use the Gesenius dictionary on account of its rationalism. The liberal school of theology in Germany certainly had an historic right to the revision of the standard lexicon, which virtually monopolized the market and directed the studies of all the young Hebraists of Germany for half a century. The last editions have been in charge of Professors Mühlaus and Volk, the Old and New Testament professors in the German Russian University at Dorpat, and both of them representatives of the the "Erlangen," or conservative and confessional school. The ninth edition, published some eight years ago, raised a storm of indignation in the advanced circles for both philological and theological reasons. The claims of both Assyriology and of the literary and archæological reconstruction of the Old Testament were ignored. Its sharpest critics were not only Siegfried, in behalf of modern theology, and the younger Delitzsch, in behalf of Assyriology (cf. his *The Hebrew Language Viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research*, London: Williams and Norgate, 1883), but also so conservative a man as Strack, of Berlin. The tenth edition of 1886 was a marked improvement from the philological side, but did not satisfy its critics from the theological. In the definitions of the *termini technici* of Old Testament history, literature, and theology, the old conservative landmarks remained fixed. The latest, the eleventh edition, differs from the tenth in little more than the omission of the Introduction on the Sources and the addition of the addenda of the tenth. The Siegfried-Stade work is now the answer of the liberal school to the determined conservative tendencies of the Gesenius lexicon. It must be said, however, that this negative or opposition tendency is not so obtrusively prominent as had been feared or hoped. In this respect the new lexicon is something of a surprise, although its adoption of critical views is pronounced. Aside from this, too, as a philological work it has advantages above and beyond the old Gesenius. In many respects the two works supplement each other. The new lexicon is probably one-fourth larger than its rival. Its motto, "*Est quaedam etiam nesciendi ars et scientia*," is surprisingly modest. Probably the greatest weakness of the work is its unscientific method of giving almost nothing but results. This is all the more surprising as coming from this advanced school, as it has been this class which has raised the cry of "unwissenschaftlich," and "Catholic method," against such works as the Zöckler-Strack commentaries, and other theological compendiums and handbooks written from a conservative standpoint. The second half, which has just appeared, completes the lexicon, gives the introduction, as also two appendices, one a Lexicon of the Aramaic portions of the Old Testament, and the other a German-Hebrew word list.

Cornill's *Einleitung*, like Driver's Introduction, begins a new series of theological works, which will set forth the various theological disciplines as they appear in the light of modern criticism. The series is entitled *Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften*. The chief branches are to be given in fourteen volumes, and a second series will include auxiliary and subordinate branches. Cornill makes it a special object to introduce the student into the secrets of the processes of Old Testament advanced criticism, and if the student is prepared to accept all the

details of his exegesis, as well as his general theological standpoint, his work will prove an excellent manual. But just here lie the difficulties, which difficulties Cornill does not try so often or so completely to solve for the Germans as does Driver for his English readers. Indeed, the whole work of Cornill shows that it is written for those who in principle agree with him and whom it is necessary to instruct only in matters of detail; while Driver everywhere, and certainly correctly, has in view the fact that he must seek new ground, and that he must convert to an acceptance of the fundamental theological principles as well as of the literary and critical processes. For that reason his fulness of detail and preliminary discussions are a boon to the English reader, who in reading Cornill's work will often place an interrogation mark, and put questions which the author does not answer. Cornill, like Driver, takes up the separate books in their order in the Hebrew codex, and discusses the literary problem in connection with them. His results are in general those of the advanced school, as can be seen from the synopsis given in the November (1891) number of the *Old and New Testament Student* (pp. 300-304). In addition he gives also a general introduction (pp. 277-310), including the history of the Canon, but only in outline, and, of course, not such as to be compared with the works of Buhl and Wildeboer. This feature Driver does not make prominent. Cornill has comparatively few references, and, we think, none at all to English sources. He does not give any analyses of the first four books of the Pentateuch, since these he regards as settled. The analysis of Deuteronomy contains a number of novel features, and the chronological questions in connection with the documents and their union receive considerable attention. The author has rare powers of condensation. Every word counts, and there seems not to be a syllable of padding in the whole book. The indices, for once in a German book, are exhaustive (pp. 311-325), and are incomparably superior to the meagre two pages in Driver's work. The historical survey of Old Testament criticism given by Cornill is excellent, with not a few special points. It is to be regretted that Driver has not given such a bird's-eye survey of this history; it was more necessary for English than for German students.

A genuine surprise in the Biblical discussions of the day is the work of Professor Dieckhoff, of the University of Rostock, entitled *Die Inspiration und Irrthumslosigkeit der Heiligen Schrift*. (Leipzig: Naumann, 1891, pp. 111. Size, 9 x 6 inches. Price, 75 cents.) The author occupies the chair of Church History in the most conservative and confessional University in the Fatherland, but distinguished himself chiefly by his writings on dogmatical subjects. His little work does not aim to be an exhaustive exegetical or dogmatical treatise on the Inspiration and Inerrancy of the Scriptures, but rather a treatment of the subject from the standpoint of the history of dogma. He aims to show that the old Protestant view of an inspiration, which demands an absolute inerrancy on the part of the Scriptures must not only be given up because absolutely irreconcilable with the facts of Scripture and history, but also that this extreme view is only that of the dogmaticisms of the seventeenth century, and not that of the best representatives of the ancient school and the Reformation. He cites as leading representatives Augustine, and Luther, and attempts to show that these great Church Fathers entertained views concerning the human factor in the origin of the Bible books which exclude the mechanical theory of inspiration as taught by the later dogmatism. This point, at least, can be now regarded as settled. But the question still remains whether the advocates of a freer theory of inspiration, not abso-

lutely excluding even the slightest of errors, have a right to appeal to these Fathers as does Dieckhoff. In the first place, notwithstanding the fact that the author has introduced page after page of most instructive citations from Augustine, Luther, and other Fathers, he has not been able to produce a single passage in which these have admitted the presence of an error in the Scriptures—showing at most that their views of the Bible do not absolutely exclude the possibility of such errors; and, secondly, since these Fathers never regarded this question in any other than a practical light (never in a theoretical light as a literature), it is doubtful if it is lawful to appeal to them for an answer to a question which they had never asked themselves in the sense in which it is now put to them. It seems out of place to appeal to them for their views on the theory of absolute inerrancy as to ask them for their views on the nature of electricity. Dieckhoff endeavors to show that even if the absolute inerrancy of the Scriptures must be given up, the Bible nevertheless and none the less continues to be the basis and firm foundation of Christian faith and teaching. It is more than doubtful if by his arguments he can convince those who are not convinced already. In one respect his book has a repellant tendency; his tone in criticizing the traditional views on inspiration is harsh and rasping, and his negative and destructive work is much more successfully done than his positive and constructive work. His little volume is a valuable contribution toward the solution of the vexed problem of the doctrine of the Sacred Scriptures, now *the* burning question of the hour in theology, and develops finely some of the historical phases of the problem; but it is not solution itself, and least of all a solution by the substitution of something better for what has been discarded. In this direction much better work has been and can be done. His views have met with such opposition that he has been compelled to reply in a separate brochure.

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KOHUT'S 'ARUKH COMPLETUM.*

The great work whose title appears here below is now completed, and there is no doubt that all critics, without exception, the severest ones included, will agree in saying, that Dr. Kohut's new edition of the 'Arukh is indeed epoch-making; that it is one of the foremost works in Semitic lexicography, and that for a thorough and critical study of the large and ramified talmudic and midrashic literature of the Jews it is indispensable.

A "great work,"—thus we designated it in the beginning of this notice. And it is indeed great; great in the double sense of the word. In the peculiar idiom of the Hebrew writers of the Middle Ages, it is great **בכמותו ובמהותו**, in its quantity and in its quality.

* ספר ערוך השלם, הלא הוא ספר הערוך מאת ר' נתן בן ר'
יחיאל רומי, ועליו נוסף ספר מוסף הערוך לר' בנימין מוספאי,
עם הגהות הערות ותקונים מאת חנוך יהודה קאהוט.

(Also under the Latin title: *ARUKH COMPLETUM, sive lexicon vocabula et res quae in libris targumicis, talmudicis, et midrashicis continentur....corrigit, explet, criticis illustrat et edit Dr. Alexander Kohut.*) Vienna, 1878-1892.

In order to show how voluminous the work is, we will state here, before we proceed further, that the size of the volume is quarto and that each page has two columns. The following are the numbers of the pages: Volume I. contains LXXIV. + 344 pp.; Vol. II., 392 pp.; Vol. III., 524; Vol. IV., 368; Vol. V., 400; Vol. VI., 468; Vol. VII., 316; Vol. VIII., 302 pages. Appended to this is, at the end of Vol. VIII., an extensive Index, with a special pagination, containing 152 + VIII. pages. A supplementary volume, under the title **חִין הערך**, was published in New York, 1892, which contains LXXXI. + 78 pages.

Kohut's work is a very large amplification of the old '*Arukh*', i. e. of that talmudical lexicon whose author, R. Nathan ben Jehiël, of Rome, finished it, as he informs us in some epigraphic verses at the end of his work, on Friday, the 19th Adar 4861 A. M. (March, 1101). Rashi, a cotemporary of R. Nathan, quoted already very often from the '*Arukh*' in his biblical as well as in his talmudical commentaries. Another cotemporary, R. Kalonymos, of the Jewish Academy in Rome, who emigrated to Worms, in Germany, brought a copy of the '*Arukh*' with him to his new home, and thereby and by the other copies which were rapidly made the '*Arukh*' soon became known in Germany and in northern France as well as, of course, in the Provence and in Spain. And thus we find that already in the very first century after the completion of the '*Arukh*' the same was widely read and quoted, and that in those early days already it was considered a great light and a reliable guide to talmudical studies. A considerable number of Jewish scholars, living in the twelfth century, can be named who used diligently Nathan's '*Arukh*', who often refer to it, quote from it and copy from it in very numerous places of their writings, among them, e. g., two grandsons of Rashi, (Samuel ben Mëir and Jacob ben Mëir), the so-called Tosaphists (annotators to the Talmud), El'azar, of Worms, Moses ben Maimon, Abraham ben David, and several others. All this shows, how in these early days the '*Arukh*' was held far and wide in high esteem. And so it was in the subsequent times among scholars down to our present age. Elias Levita based his lexicographical works to a large extent upon the '*Arukh*'; so did Johannes Buxtorf, the elder, to whom Nathan's '*Arukh*' was the main source of his large *Lexicon chaldaicum, talmudicum et rabbinicum*; so, to name a few more, Menahem de Lonsano, Benjamin Musaphia, David de Lara, and others made use of the '*Arukh*', amplified it, or amended it and corrected it, and made additamenta to it. In modern times, too, the '*Arukh*' was annotated and received additions by Isaiah Berlin, Moses Landau, etc. In fact, every one who studied the language of the talmudical literature could not well avoid to utilize the '*Arukh*'.

The value of this book does not consist merely in the explanations and definitions of the words and terms of which it treats in alphabetical order; it claims and it deserves also valuation from another point of view. It is self-understood that Nathan's etymologies and definitions must, in many cases, appear as erroneous and as needing corrections. Considering that 800 years have elapsed since the '*Arukh*' has been written, and that immensely great progress in Semitic philology has been made during this time, most especially so in our own XIXth century, we cannot wonder that we cannot subscribe to all which was said eight centuries ago by that old Jewish lexicographer in Rome. But there is yet another side from which to look upon the '*Arukh*'. It contains an exceedingly large number of talmudical passages which in their wording and phrasing, or in the spelling of difficult vocables, differ materially from the passages as we have them before us in our

printed editions of the Talmud. The text as we have it in these printed editions is almost hopelessly corrupted, and, in consequence of these corruptions, it has become, in many places, nearly unintelligible, or, at least, extremely difficult to comprehend. As there are very few manuscripts of the Talmud extant—the oldest complete Talmud MS. which has been preserved, is in the royal library in Munich, and was written in 1303—and as, therefore, from such MSS. comparatively very little aid can be had for the textual criticism of the Talmud and for the restitution of a good and correct text of the same, the great critical worth of the rich material contained in the *'Arukh*, whose readings are, in general, preferable to those of the Munich and other MSS., cannot be overvalued.

And besides this, Nathan had before him the writings of many authors, eminent in talmudical lore, who lived prior to his times. From them he quotes, and out of their sources he drew largely; especially from Hai Gaon, Rabbenu Hananel, Rabbenu Gershon, "the light of the diaspora," etc. He quotes also from Ben Sira, from Abhoth de-Rabbi Nathan, Pirqé de-Rabbi Eli'ezer, and also from other books, which either have been partially or totally lost, or which are still buried as manuscripts, difficult of access, to be found in public libraries in Europe, or in private possession of individual Jews of the Orient. If we say here, that the author of the *'Arukh* quoted, as we learn from the lists of Dr. Kohut in his supplementary volume, Hai 492 times, Hananel 1466 times, and Gershon 565 times, then we may have an idea of how great a help the *'Arukh* is for the student of the mental life of the Jews and of their literature in the centuries preceding R. Nathan.

The *'Arukh* was one of the very first Hebrew books which was published by means of Guttenberg's art. The editio princeps appeared sine loco et anno, but it has been proven by the bibliographers, that its date is 1477. Since this first edition, seven others have been published. But these editions, or at least the most of them, are full of mistakes, false readings, and typographical errors. Kohut took great pains to furnish a critically reconstructed, a correct text of Nathan's famous lexicon, and he was happy enough, not only to have copies of all the previous printed editions before him, but he was enabled also to collate and compare seven ancient manuscripts of the *'Arukh* (the oldest one of them, a Vienna MS., dating from the year 1286) and he has succeeded thereby in placing before the student as perfect and correct a text of Nathan's work as could be expected. Of the different editions of the *'Arukh* and of the MSS. he used, Kohut gives us full and highly interesting information in his Introduction.

But it is not the text of Nathan's *'Arukh* alone which we have before us in Kohut's ערוך השלם. Besides Musaphia's additional matter, published in the later printed editions of the *'Arukh*, Kohut has added an exceedingly large number of articles of his own, and explained therein talmudical words which Nathan had entirely omitted. He has also enriched Nathan's original articles by addimenta of a varied nature, by corrections, by etymologies, by the discovering and showing up of the sources from which Nathan drew, by very largely augmenting the number of illustrative passages from the talmudical literature, and thus Nathan's original work, though it is completely given, more so than in any of the previous editions, is in reality the smallest part of Kohut's *'Arukh Completum*. It is to be much regretted, however, that different types have not been used, one kind for the original work of Nathan, another one for the additions of Musaphia

and still another one for those of Kohut. As it is, it requires some exasperating labor to separate the original work from the overwhelming additions.

As to the etymologies of Kohut, we must restrict ourselves to saying, that the author, by several works previously published by him (as e. g. *Ueber juedische Angelologie und Daemonologie in ihrer Abhaengigkeit vom Parsismus*; *Beleuchtung der persischen Pentateuch-Übersetzung des Jacob Tawus*; etc.) and by a large number of scholarly articles in the *ZDMG.*, in Geiger's *Jued. Zeitschr.*, Kobak's *Jeschurun*, the *London Jewish Quarterly Review*, and in other learned periodicals, has long since become favorably known as a great linguist, who not only masters the entire field of Semitic languages, but who also can speak with authority on several Aryan languages, especially on the Persian. While the various Aramaic dialects are predominant in the talmudic literature, and while a thorough knowledge of them is therefore highly necessary for the student of this literature, yet a knowledge of the Persian language and literature and history is also very desirable. It is particularly necessary to a thorough lexicographer of the Talmud, for many terms in the Talmud are derived from Persian dialects, and many points in the religious ceremonies, in the rituals, in civil laws, in the habits, views, customs, etc. of the Jews can only be understood, after Persian cotemporary life, language and literature has been compared and after their mutual interdependence has become clear.

And thus in general, Kohut's '*Arukh Completum*' is a work not alone for the philologist, but also for the Jewish historian and archæologist. It is an exceedingly rich mine for the knowledge of a literature which, without it, would have to remain to many a terra incognita. The information, which the '*Arukh Completum*' furnishes, is mostly solid and reliable and rests upon a vast erudition and an extensive acquaintance with the subject matter, or matters, it treats of.

As a great result of a rare and exceedingly painstaking, indefatigable, and conscientious labor—a labor which alone must have required many months of persevering assiduity—we must name the nineteen various indices at the end of volume VIII., filling alone 152 + VIII. quarto pages in small print.

To many single points in Kohut's etymologies, or explanations, and statements of another kind, exception may be taken, and undoubtedly will be taken, by scholars who work upon the field of talmudical lore. But these exceptions cannot diminish much the great value of the large lexicon, which, after so many years of devoted labor by a competent scholar, has finally reached its completion. May it then contribute towards stimulating a love for a branch of study, which, after all, has had thus far not very many devotees, and which has been thus far almost exclusively fostered and cultivated by Jewish students. Delitzsch, Wünsche, and a few others, are exceptions.

Partially, at least, we may claim the '*Arukh Completum*' as a monument of American scholarship, since Dr. Kohut, though a native of Hungary and a graduate of German colleges and universities, has been a resident of the United States about eight years, and now occupies the position of a Rabbi in one of the Jewish congregations in New York City.

Chicago.

B. FELSENTHAL.

ABEL'S VORARBEIT.*

The title of this work clearly defines its object. The author properly begins with the vocabulary of the Muallakas. Among these are found the oldest complete productions in Arabic literature, written also in the purest language and best style and valued most highly by the native critics. In the occident they have been greatly admired. Goethe having read Jones' translation, said: "They are magnificent treasures. They point to a wandering nation rich in flocks, fond of war, internally in a state of unrest on account of the feuds of different tribes. In them are portrayed the closest attachment to tribal relations, ambition, bravery, implacable desire for revenge mitigated by love's grief, benevolence, self-sacrifice—all in the highest degree. The value of these poems is increased by the fact that the greatest variety is found in them."†

The publication of the text of the Muallakas does not strictly belong to the author's task. He has undertaken this because Arnold's edition is out of print. Abel says in the introduction that the text is the same as Arnold's, except a very few deviations. There are, however, at least twenty-five variations from Arnold's text without any other intimation being given that they are not his readings. This might prove a serious matter; for one would think himself justified in referring to Abel's edition as Arnold's text, whereas the very reference given might be a reading not acceptable to Arnold. For example, Abel gives the first hemistich of Imrulkais verse 61 different from Arnold's text. Abel follows the Calcutta edition and inferior manuscripts. Arnold adopts the reading of the Cod. Gothanus which he designates in his introduction as *praestantissimus*. Abel should have given in his notes a list of the different manuscripts and important editions of the poems, also in a very concise form Arnold's critical annotations, or at least the variants. As it is now the critical student cannot get along without Arnold.

All of the orthographical changes made by Abel that we have noticed are correct. Some of these are Imrulkais verse 3 فَلْفَل for فِلْفِل; v. 5 (also Tarafa v. 2) تَهْلِك for تَهْلِك; v. 19 صُرْمِي for صُرْمَر; Tar. v. 47 كَأْسًا for كَأْسًا; v. 63, مُتْنَا for مُتْنَا; (although the latter is not without good authority); v. 96, دَلِيل for دَلِيل; Kultum v. 34, وَنَعْفُ for وَنَعْفُ. Other changes are found in Im. v. 28 تَمْشِي for أَمْشِي; v. 61 mentioned above; Tar. 10, حَلَّتْ for أَلَقَتْ; v. 74, حُمَاتِهَا for حُمَاتِه; v. 75, بِشْرِبْ for بَكَاس; v. 81, عَاصِم for خَالِد; Kultum v. 45, قَوْم for حَى; v. 59, غُيْرَت for أُنْقَلَبَتْ; Antara v. 48, لَهُ كَفَى

* SAMMLUNG VON WÖRTERVERZEICHNISSEN ALS VORARBEITEN ZU EINEM WÖRTERBUCH DER ALTEN ARABISCHEN POESIE. I. DIE SIEBEN MU'ALLAKÂT, TEXT, VOLLSTÄNDIGES WÖRTERVERZEICHNISS, DEUTSCHER UND ARABISCHER COMMENTAR BEARBEITET VON LUDWIG ABEL. Berlin, 1891. Verlag von W. Spemann.

† In his notes to West-Oestlicher Divan under Araber.

for **الْعَلْيَاء**, **كُلُّ** for **كُلُّ**; v. 42, **وَأَذْهَبَ** for **وَأَبْرَأَ**; Harith v. 14, **يَدَايَ لَهْ**; v. 80,

for **الْعَلْيَاء**. It would take up too much space to comment upon all of these. We should take exception among others to two. Tarafa v. 75, according to Arnold's text, is to be translated "If they seek to defame thy honor, I give them to drink the drinking (or the drink) of the cisterns of death before the threatening." According to Abel's it reads, "to drink the *cup* of the cisterns of death," etc. It is true that the figurative use of "cup of something" for the thing itself is common, e. g. "cup of debasement," "cup of deaths," **כּוּס-יְשׁוּעוֹת** "cup of deliverances," Ps. cxvi. 13. It would be correct to say to drink of the *cup of death* but the *cup of the cistern of death* is meaningless. The word **كأس** should not be substituted

for **شرب**. Also in Tar. v. 81, **خَالِد** has better authority than **عَاصِم**. It may be added that v. 62 of Imrulkais, is out of its proper place, as the context shows. According to Wolff,* a Paris codex brings it after v. 68.

The Arabic notes are extracts from the scholia in Arnold, also a few from E. Frenkel's *An-Nahhas Commentar zur Mullaqua des Imruul-Quais*, Halle, 1876, and from Codex Glaser 41 Bibl. reg. Berol. The German notes give chiefly the sense of a passage along with some explanations of words and allusions. Of these last more should be explained, to wit: the antithesis between Kais ben Chalid and

Amru ben Marthad, Tar. v. 81; **عَزَّ مَدَامَهَا** Leb. 58; **مُصَرَّم** Ant. v. 22. There should be also cross-references to the many points of resemblance in these poems. Both the text and the commentary should have head-lines.

The writer is of the opinion that assistance of another kind also should be rendered the student. The whole spirit of oriental poetry along with its mode of expression is entirely foreign to the occidental mind. To usher a student into the study of these productions without conveying some idea of the nature of these poems and of Arabic poetry in general is to make his work unnecessarily hard and correspondingly unattractive. The commentary, or notes, should in addition contain a short statement of the various views relative to the meaning of Muallaka, a brief outline of the life of each poet and of the poem itself. This information is by no means accessible to most students and when it is set forth in a text-book, it gives the instructor so much more time for his proper duties which certainly should not be of an elementary character.

All who are interested in the study of Arabic literature should heartily support Abel in his undertaking. The next issue will be a vocabulary to W. Ahlwardt's *The Divans of the Six Ancient Arabic Poets*.

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* Muallakat ins Deutsche ubertragen, p. 15.

➤ HEBRAICA. ◀

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NOS. 3 AND 4.

THE SEMITIC IŠTAR CULT.

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§ 1. IŠTAR OF NINEVEH.

In classifying the great mass of material extant in the Assyrian language so as to determine what mentions of Ištar refer to the Ištar of Nineveh, what to the Ištar of Arbela, and what to the Ištar of Aššur, it is obvious that some canon of classification must be applied. Two different canons are conceivable. One would be to take some undoubted reference to the Ištar of a particular shrine, and with the characteristics of the goddess there pictured as a basis, refer to the goddess of that shrine all passages revealing like characteristics. The other would be to seek in every instance some historical guide. For example, when a king speaks of Ištar it may be considered probable that he refers to the Ištar worshipped at his capital unless he takes the pains to tell us that he refers to the Ištar of another shrine. The former of these principles is based on internal criticism, the latter on historical probability. The former assumes in advance that the characteristics of the gods are clearly defined and separate, the latter assumes that we do not know what their characteristics are or whether they overlap until the inscriptions reveal them to us. As a matter of fact the provinces of the gods in Assyria and Babylonia are not distinct. They often overlap each other. It has therefore seemed safest to assume that when any king refers to Ištar he means the Ištar of his capital city unless he otherwise states. This gives us a tangible rather than a speculative basis on which to rest, and in investigations of such antiquity such a basis should always be sought. This is the canon of classification applied in this and the following chapters.

We proceed first to collect the material referring to Ištar of Nineveh. The oldest mention which we can date is the hymn of Assurnasirpal son of Šamši-Raman, recently published by Brünnow.

PRAYER OF ASSURNASIRPAL SON OF ŠAMŠIRAMAN (cir. 1800 B. C.)*

Transliterated Text.

- 1 Ip-šit im-ḥu-ra-an-[ni....] amâti-*pl* ú-za-kar
- 2 a-na ba-na-at ni-mi-[ki....bi-lit ta-]na-da-a-ti
- 3 a-na a-ši-bat Ì-bar-bar ilu....u-ša-pa zik-ri
- 4 a-na šar-rat ilâni-*pl* ša par-ši [ilâni-*pl* rabûti-*pl* šu-ut-]lu-mu ға-tuš-ša
- 5 a-na bī-lit *alu* Nina sal....[ilâni-] *pl* ša-ḫu-tú
- 6 a-na binat *ilu* Sin ta-li-mat *ilu* Šam-ši ša (?) kul-lat šarru-ti ta-bī-l
- 7 a-na pa-ri-sa-at purussi ila-at kal gim-ri
- 8 a-na bī-lit šam-i u irši-tim ma-ḫi-rat tiš-li-ti
- 9 a-na ši-ma-at iḫ-ri-bi li-ḫa-at un-ni-ni
- 10 a-na ila-tim rimi-ni-ti ša mi-ša-ra i-ra-am-mu
- 11 *ilu* Iš-tar mimma ša bûl-lu-lu i-si-iḫ-ša
- 12 da-al-pa-a-tī mal a-tam-ma-ru maḫ-ra-ki a-bak-ka (?)
- 13 a-na at-mu-u-a šú-nu-ḫi lib-ša-a [u]-zu-un-ki
- 14 a-na zik-ri-ya šúm-ru-ši ka-bat-ta-ki lip-pa-šir
- 15 am-ri-in-ni bīltu ki-i su-uḫ-ḫu-ra-ki libba arad-ki lim-ra-aš
- 16 *m ilu* Aššur-naš-ir-apal ana-ku šúm-ru-šu arad-ki
- 17 šaḫ-tu pa-liḫ ilu-ti-ki pit-ḫu-du na-ram-ki
- 18 mu-kin XIV *ilu* ištārâti-*pl*-ki la mu-par-ku-u na-di-nu zi-bi-ki
- 19 ḫa-ši-iḫ i-si-na-tī-ki mu-ša-az-ni-nu parakka-ki
- 20 mu-da-ḫi-id kurun-nam bi-bīl lib-bi-ki ša ta-ra-mi.
- 21 apal *m* Šam-ši *ilu* Raman šarri pa-liḫ ilâni-*pl* rabûti-*pl*.
- 22 ab-ba-ni-ma ina ḫi-rib šad-i ša la idu-šu-nu mamman
- 23 ul ḫa-sa-ku-ma bī-lut-ki ul ú-sap-pa-a ka-a-a-an
- 24 niši-*pl* *matu ilu* Aššur-*ci* ul i-da-ni-ma ul im-da-ḫa-ra ilu-ut-ki
- 25 at-ti-ma *ilu* Iš-tar ú-šúm-gal-lat ilani-*pl* ra-šub-ti
- 26 i-na ni-iš ini-ki tu-di-ni-ma taḫ-šú-ḫu bil-ú-ti
- 27 tal-ḫi-ni-ma ul-tu ḫi-rib šad-i a-na sip-pi niši-*pl* tab-bi-in-ni
- 28 tu-ki-in-ni *isu* ḫatta iš-ri-f-ti a-na li-tab-bur da-ád-mi
- 29 at-ti-ma *ilu* Iš-tar tu-ša-aš-ri-ḫi zik-ri
- 30 ta-ḫi-ši-ma ki-nu-ti šú-zu-ba ga-ma-lu,
- 31 ina pi-i-ki ú-ša-a ud-du-uš ilâni-*pl* na-aḫ-mu-ti
- 32 iḫriti-*pl* šu-uḫ-ḫa-a-tī ú-di-ša a-na-ku
- 33 ilâni-*pl* šul-pu-tu-ti ab-ni a-šar-šu-nu ut-tir
- 34 iš-ḫu-u XIV ištārâti-*pl* ú-kin-šu-nu a-na ša-a-ti
- 35 ú-šī-pi-šma *isu* irša *isu* urkarini ma'alu takni-f mu-šap-ši-iḫ ilu-ti-ki
- 36 ša ina ḫuraši liḫ-ti šú-su-mī í-tal-mu ḫi-rib-ša

* Cf. for the text, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. V., p. 79

PRAYER OF ASSURNASIRPAL SON OF ŠAMŠIRAMAN.

Translation.

- 1 "The thing he received from me . . . the words I relate
- 2 To the mother of wisdom . . . [the lady of] majesty
- 3 To her who dwells at Ibarbar, the goddess [who] made me renowned,
- 4 To the queen of the gods, into whose hands are delivered the commands of
the great gods,
- 5 To the lady of Nineveh . . . [of the gods], the exalted one,
- 6 To the daughter of Sin, the sister of Šamaš, who rules all kingdoms,
- 7 To her who determines decrees, the goddess of the universe,
- 8 To the lady of heaven and earth, who receives prayers,
- 9 To her who hears petitions, who heeds sighs,
- 10 To the merciful goddess, who loves justice,
- 11 Ištar—everything which is corrupted distresses her !
- 12 Afflictions as many as I see I bewail before thee !
- 13 To my sorrowful words may thy ears be inclined,
- 14 To my afflicted speech let thy heart be open,
- 15 Look on me, O Lady, thus may thy turning make glad thy servant's heart.
- 16 I am Assurnasirpal, thy afflicted servant,
- 17 Humble, worshipping thy divinity, provident, thy favorite,
- 18 Who set up thy fourteen goddesses, who without ceasing offers thy sacrifices,
- 19 Who desires thy shrines, who adorns thy sanctuary,
- 20 Who makes abundant the wine, the joy of thy heart, which thou lovest,
- 21 The son of Šamširaman, the king, the worshipper of the great gods.
- 22 I was begotten in the midst of mountains which no one knows.
- 23 I had no understanding, and to thy ladyship did not regularly pray,
- 24 The people of Assyria neither knew nor received thy divinity,
- 25 But thou, O Ištar, mighty princess (?) of the gods,
- 26 In the lifting up of thy eyes didst thou teach me and desired'st my lordship.
- 27 Thou didst take me from the mountains and call me to the threshold of the
people,
- 28 Thou didst establish for me the sceptre of the shrines for ever (lit. till the
growing old of the dwelling),
- 29 And thou, O Ištar, didst make great my name,
- 30 And thou hast given to the faithful salvation (and) reward.
- 31 It went forth from thy mouth to renew the burned gods,
- 32 The falling temples I renewed,
- 33 The overthrown gods I built up, I restored to their places ;
- 34 The fourteen goddesses were exalted, I established them for ever,
- 35 I made a bed of *urkarinu*-wood, a firm divan giving rest to thy divinity,
- 36 Whose interior was surrounded with gold adorned

- 37 ni-sik-ti abni-pl šad-i šú-ku-ru u-za'-a-in-ši ki-i..
 38 ú-lil-ši a-na šu-ub-bi-í ú-mal-ši.....
 39 ú-nam-mir-ši kima šaruri *ilu* Šam-ši a-[ši-i..
 40 ú-šar-ši-ši ina Ī-bar-bar šú-bat la-li-ši.....
 41 [ina] mi-ni-í ú-kal-lil-ki-ma a.....
 42tu-man-ni-i-ma murša a-ta.....
 43buani-pl mu-ta.....
 44pi-riš-tu kit [-tu (?)].....

Reverse.

- 1*.....
 2 Ka-a-a-na-ma.....
 3 ina ma-ḥar ilu-ti-ki.....
 4 ki-i la pa-liḥ ilu-ti-ki ka(?)
 5 ki-i la ar-ši ar-ni ḥab-[la-ti].....
 6 gi-na-a šú-uš-ra-ku....
 7 par-sa-ku-ma ni-'i-lu ul a.....
 8 ina *išu* Kussi šarru-ti-ya ú-zi-im-ma
 9 nap-tan a-pa-ta-nu ul í-di-ḥa-a
 10 kurun-nam ša nap-la-ḥi a-na da-da-ri
 11 bit-nu-u rig-ma šúm-su-ka-ku si-mat,
 12 u ḥa-da-a balâti-pl zu-um-ma-ku
 13 ini-a-a bit-ru-ma-ma ul ú-šab-ba-a
 14 ul ú-ša-ka-a a-na í-li-ni pa-an kaḥ-ka-ri
 15 a-di ma-ti bíltu muršu la na-par-ku-u ḥal-ku si-ki-ya.
 16 ana-ku *m ilu* Aššur-naš-ir-apal šú-ud-lu-pu pa-liḥ-ki
 17 ša-bit ḥa-ni ilu-ti-ki mu-sa-pu-u bí-lut-ki
 18 nap-li-si-ni-ma ênta-ki lu-sa-ap-pi
 19 ša ti-zi-zi rimi-ni-ma ka-bat-ta-ki lip-pa-šir
 20 ga-ma-lu líb-ba-ki ili-ya lim-ra-aš
 21 šú-ši-i mur-ši šúm-si-ki ḥi-ti-ti
 22 ina pi-i-ki bíltu lim-ku-ta pa-ša-ḥi
 23 iššakka mi-ig-ra-ki ša la înu-u ka-a-a-an
 24 ri-ši-šú ri-í-mu da-lip-ta-šú ku-ur-dí
 25 šab-ti a-bu-us-su a-na na-ra-mí-ki abi ilâni-pl....*ilu* Aššur
 26 [a-na] aḥ-rat û-mí lut-ta-'i-id [bi-lu]-ut-ki
 27lu-šar-ba-a ina..... ..šami u iršitim.
 ikal *m ilu* Aššur-bani-apal šarri kiššati šarri *matu ilu* Aššur *ki*, etc.

* The first line of the reverse is illegible.

- 37 With *nišikti*-stones of the mountain, I adorned it (the statue) like....
 38 I made it beautifully bright. I filled it.....
 39 I made it shine like the splendor of the rising (?) sun.
 40 I set it up (?) in Ibarbar, the dwelling of its might,
 41 In what have I wronged thee?.....
 42 Why (?) hast thou appointed me disease?
 43boils, pestilence.....
 44fleeing away of faith.....

Reverse.

- 2 Continually.....
 3 Before thy divinity.....
 4 As one who does not worship thy divinity [I am tortured]
 5 If I have not incurred sin and evil [why am I afflicted?]
 6 In (my) foundations, I am unloosed.....
 7 I am broken in pieces, rest (?) I [do not find (?)],
 8 On the throne of my kingdom I fasted,
 9 To the meal I had prepared I did not come near,
 10 The wine of the temple-service into gall
 11 Is changed, I am confused in (my) word, of the beauty
 12 And joy of life I am deprived.
 13 My eyes are sealed, I cannot see;
 14 I do not lift them up above the face of the earth.
 15 How long, O lady, shall the disease without cessation destroy my members?
 16 I, Assurnaširpal, sorely afflicted, thy worshipper,
 17 Who seizes the staff of thy divinity, who prays to thy ladyship,
 18 Be favorable to me, to thy mightiness let me pray,
 19 Because thou art strong pity me, let thy heart be open!
 20 Do good, let thy heart be grieved over me!
 21 Cause (my) sickness to go out, restrain (my) sin!
 22 From thy mouth, O lady, let my tranquility fall!
 23 The priest-king, thy favorite who never changes,
 24 Grant him mercy and strengthen his weakness,
 25 Intercede for him with thy beloved, the father of the gods.... Aššur!
 26 Unto future days let me exalt thy ladyship (?)
 27 ...let me magnifyheaven and earth."

This is the oldest memorial we have of the Ištar of Nineveh. It professes to come from cir. 1800 B. C. The copy which we have comes from the library of Assurbanipal, and yet there is about the whole tablet an archaic style and coloring which points to a much higher antiquity for its origin. The occurrence of

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN ASSURNASIRPAL, 885-860 B. C.

- 1 (Cf. I R. 18. 1 (37) sq.) I-na bi-ib-lat lib-bi-ya u tir-ši ҡati-ya *ilu* Ištar bilit ramat šangu-ti-a lu-tam-gu-ra-ni-ma i-piš ҡabli u taḫazi libba-ša ub-la-ma.

- 2 (I R. 18. 70) Ina ҡi-bit *ilu* Aššur *ilu* Ištar ilâni-*pl* rabûti-*pl* bîli-*pl*-a ištu *alu* Ni-nu-a a-tu-muš.

- 3 (I R. 25. 91) A-na *matu* Is-mî-iḫ-ri-*pl* a-lik. *Matu* Is-mî-iḫ-ri-*pl* ana si-ḫir-ti-ša ak-šud, *išu* gušûri-*pl* ša Is-mî-iḫ-ri-*pl* a-ki-si a-na *alu* Ni-nu-a ub-la a-na *ilu* Ištar bi-lat *alu* Ni-nu-a ṭabti-ya aḫiṣ (?).

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN SHALMANESER II., 860-825 B. C.

- 1 (Obelisk Ins. l. 13 sq.) *Ilu* Ištar riš-ti šami-í u irši-tí ša pa-an ҡar-du-tí šuk-lu-lat [ilâni]-*pl* rabûti-*pl* mu-ši-mu šimati-*pl* mu-šar-bu-ú šarru-ti-ya.

- 2 (III R. 7. 3) *Ilu* Ištar bi-lat ҡabli u taḫazi.

MENTIONS IN ŠAMŠI-RAMAN, 825-812 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 30. 13) Ina ҡi-bit *ilu* Aššur *ilu* Šamaš *ilu* Raman *ilu* Ištar ilâni-*pl* tik-li-a kima kil-liḫ-tú (?) a-na šipi-*pl*-a ik-nu-šu.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN SARGON, 722-705 B. C.

- (This passage is found in Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte Sargons* II. p. 29 pl. 62 l. 5 sq., also in the Sargon cylinder l. 69 pub. by Winckler op. cit. p. 43, and in Lyon's *Sargontexte*, p. 17. l. 86, 87.)
- 1 *Ilu* A-nu mu-šal-lim ip-šit ҡa-ti-ya *ilu* Iš-tar mu-šam-mî-ḫat, niši-*pl*-šu ni-bit abulli *ilu* A-num ù *ilu* Iš-tar ša ši-id aḫâri aš-ḫun.

šarru for king along with *patisi*, or as it is now read *iššakku* is so far as we know an anachronism in Assyria at 1800 B. C., and points to an editing of our hymn at a later date. Notwithstanding this the statements of the hymn must have been based on an older tradition, and for our purposes may be regarded as historical.

After this hymn we have no certain reference to the Ištar of Nineveh for nearly a thousand years. There are references to Ištar in a letter of Tushratta king of Metanni to Amenophis III. king of Egypt,* but we have no evidence that the Ištar of the shrine at Nineveh was in the writer's mind. The probabilities are that she was not.

Aššur-riš-iši, king of Assyria cir. 1150 B. C.† possibly refers to her in a wish expressed in a votive offering that Ištar may hear prayers, but it is not clear whether the Ištar in question is the Ištar of Nineveh or of Aššur. In either case the reference adds nothing to our knowledge of Ištar.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN ASSURNAŠIRPAL, 885-860 B. C.

- 1 "In the wish of my heart and the placing of my hand, Ištar, the lady who loves my priesthood favored me, and brought her heart to the accomplishment of battle and war."
- 2 "At the command of Aššur and Ištar, the great gods, my lords, I marched from Nineveh."
- 3 "Unto Ismikhri I went. Ismikhri to its farthest limits I conquered. Beams of Ismikhri I cut, unto Nineveh I brought, unto Ištar, lady of Nineveh my patroness I presented (?)."

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN SHALMANESER II., 860-825 B. C.

- 1 "Ištar, the first born of heaven and earth who is perfect in bravery, who establishes the fates (and) enlarges my kingdom."
- 2 "Ištar the queen of fight and battle."

MENTIONS IN ŠAMŠI-RAMAN, 825-812 B. C.

- 1 "At the command of Aššur, Šamaš, Raman, Ištar, the gods my helpers, like . . . they submitted to my feet."

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN SARGON, 722-705 B. C.

- 1 "For Anu who completes the work of my hand, and for Ištar who makes its people thrive I named the gates of Anu and Ištar on the west side."

* Cf. *PSBA.*, Vol. X. p. 560 sq.

† Cf. III R. 3, No. 6.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN SENNACHERIB, 705-681 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 41, 50) A-na-ku a-na *ilu* Aššur *ilu* Sin *ilu* Šamaš *ilu* Bil *ilu* Nabu *ilu* Nergal ⁵¹*ilu* Ištar ša Nina *ki* *ilu* Ištar ša *alu* Arba-ili ilâni-*pl* ti-ik-li-ya ⁵² a-na ka-ša-di *ami**lu* nakri dan-ni am-ḥur-šu-nu-ti-ma.

- 2 (Smith's *Sennacherib*, p. 140)—Nina-*ki* ma-ḥa-zu ši-i-ru alu na-ram *ilu* Iš-tar.

- 3 (Smith, op. cit. pp. 143, 144). Ikal maḥ-ri-tu ša IIIC LX ina ammat šaḫi i-na tar-ši za-mi-í *bitu* zig-gur-rat LXXX ina ammat rapašti i-na tar-ši bitu na-ma-ri bit *ilu* Ištar.

- 4 IIC LXVIII ina suk-lum rabu-ti šaḫ-ḫi ḫabli-tim mi-iḫ-rit za-mí-í ad-man-ni ku-tal *ilu* Iš-tar IIIC LXXXIII ina suk-lum rabu-ti šaḫ-ḫi ḫab-litum ša-ni-tum mu-šat-ti ša-a-ri a-ḫar-ri ku-tal *bitu* zig-gu-rat bit *ilu* Iš-tar.

- 5 (Smith, op. cit., p. 155 sq.) ša *ilu* Aššur ù *ilu* Iš-tar a-na ri-í-um-tu mati ù niši-*pl* i-nam-bu-ú.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN ESARHADDON, 681-668 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 45) ¹[Aššur-aḫi-iddi-na.....⁴ša ina tukulti *ilu* Aššur] *ilu* Sin *ilu* Šamaš ⁵*ilu* Nabu *ilu* Marduk *ilu* Ištar ša Nina-*ki* ⁶*ilu* Ištar ša Arba-ili-*ki* ilâni-*pl* rabûti-*pl* bili-*pl*-šu ⁷ul-tu ši-it *ili* Šam-ši a-di i-rib *ilu* Šam-ši ⁸it-tal-lak-ú-ma ma-ḫi-ra la i-šu-u.

- 2 Cf. I R. 46. 38 (Col. IV.), III R. 15. 4 (Col. I.), III R. 15. 5 (Col. II.).

- 3 (I R. 47. Col. VI. 27 sq.) ²⁷*ilu* Aššur *ilu* Ištar ša Nina-*ki* ilâni-*pl* *matu* Aššur-*ki* ²⁸kali-šu-nu ina kir-bi-ša aḫ-ri-ma ²⁹*kirru* niḫi-*pl* taš-ri-iḫ-ti ib-bu-ti ³⁰ma-ḫar-šu-un aḫ-ḫi-ma ³¹ú-šam-ḫi-ra kad-ra-a-a ³²ilâni-*pl* ša-tu-nu ina ku-un lib-bi-šu-nu ³³ik-tar-ra-bu šarru-u-ti ³⁴*ami**lu* rabûti-*pl* u niši-*pl* mati-ya ka-li-šu-nu ³⁵ina ta-kul-tí u ki-ri-f-ti ³⁶ina *isu* pašûri ta-ši-la-a-ti ³⁷ki-rib-ša ú-ši-šib-ma.

- 4 (III R. 16, Col. VI. 14) ¹⁴ša *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Iš-tar ¹⁵a-na bí-lut mati u niši-*pl* i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šu.

- 5 (III R. 16, Col. VI. 22) *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Iš-tar ik-ri-bi-ka i-šim-mu.

- 6 (III R. 15. 22) *ilu* Iš-tar bí-lit ḫabli taḫazi ra-ʾi-i-mat ša-an-gu-ti-ya ²³i-da-a a-ta-zi-iz-ma *isu* ḫašat-su-nu taš-bir, etc.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN SENNACHERIB, 705-681 B. C.

- 1 "I prayed unto Aššur, Sin, Šamaš, Bīl, Nabu, Nergal, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, the gods whom I trust, for the capture of my mighty foes."

- 2 "Nineveh the great fortress, the city beloved of Ištar."

- 3 "The former palace, which was 360 cubits long on the side of the enclosure of the tower, 80 cubits in breadth on the side of the brilliant temple, the temple of Ištar."

In Cylinder B. there is a variant to lines 50 and 51 of the inscription last quoted. Sennacherib is describing some land he reclaimed from the river Tibilti, and says :

- 4 "268 great cubits in length on the side before the temple the dwelling the *kutal* of Ištar, 383 great cubits in height in the second middle beginning (?) at the west of the tower of Ištar."

- 5 "Whom Aššur and Ištar for the government of the country and people shall name."

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN ESARHADDON, 681-668 B. C.

- 1 "I am Esarhaddon.....who by the power of Aššur, Sin, Šamaš, Nabu, Marduk, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, the great gods my lords from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun marched without rival."

- 2 The point to be noted here is that Ištar of Nineveh is a goddess in Esarhaddon's pantheon. The same is true of the other references to that pantheon.

- 3 "Aššur (and) Ištar of Nineveh, the gods of Assyria, all of them into it (the palace) I invited; large pure sacrifices I offered before them, I presented my present. These gods in the faithfulness of their hearts drew near unto my royalty. The princes and people of my country all of them at the banquet and feast at the festive table in its midst I caused to sit," etc. A feast is then described.'

- 4 "Whose name Aššur and Ištar for the sovereignty of the country and peoples shall name."

- 5 "Aššur and Ištar shall hear thy prayer."

- 6 "Ištar lady of onslaught and battle who loves my priesthood stood at my side and broke their bows."

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN ASSURBANIPAL, 668-626 B. C.

- 1 (V R. 1. 13 sq.) Ina í-piš pi-i mut-tal-li ša *ilu* Aššur *ilu* Bilit *ilu* Sin *ilu* Šamaš *ilu* Raman *ilu* Bil *ilu* Nabu *ilu* Ištar ša Nina-ki *ilu* Šar-rat kid-mu-ri *ilu* Ištar ša *alu* Arba-ili-ki *ilu* Adar *ilu* Nergal *ilu* Nusku iḫ-bu-ú ú-paḫ-ḫir niši-pl *matu* Aššur-ki.

- 2 Cf. also for the same pantheon V R. 1. 41 sq., V R. 2. 127 sq., V R. 3. 12 sq., V R. 3. 27 sq., V R. 4. 46 sq., V R. 6. 126 sq., V R. 8. 19 sq., V R. 8. 52 sq., V R. 8. 73 sq., V R. 9. 61 sq., V R. 9. 97 sq., V R. 10. 33 sq., V R. 10. 60 sq., V R. 10. 118 sq. and Smith's *Assurbanipal*, pp. 95, 96.
- 3 (V R. 2. 107) *ilu* Aššur *ilu* Ištar ilâni-pl bili-pl-ya.
- 4 Cf. V R. 1. 56, V R. 4. 119, V R. 6. 71, V R. 7. 75, V R. 8. 17, V R. 8. 30. V R. 9. 6, V R. 9. 20, Smith's op. cit., p. 135.
- 5 V R. 1. 84) Nam-ri-ri *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma.
- 6 (V R. 2. 38.) Ina tukul-ti *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar iḫ-šu-du ḫata-a-a kaspā ḫuraša.
- 7 (V R. 3. 50.) Ul-tú iṣu Kakki-pl *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar iliti *matu* Ilamti-ki ú-šam-ri-ru.
- 8 (V R. 5. 123.) Ina a-mat *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar ša ú-ma-'i-i-ru-in-ni.
- 9 (V R. 5. 29) *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar ša ida-a-a il-li-ku.
- 10 (V R. 4. 9.) Ina su-up-pi-í ša *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar ú-sap-pu-u ¹⁰un-nin-ni-ya il-ku-u iš-mu-u zi-kir šapti-ya.
- 11 (V R. 5. 130.) Ina a-mat *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar ki-rib ikallati-šu í-ru-ub.
- 12 (V R. 6. 56.) Ša ina ḫi-bit *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar í-pu-šu ardu-u-ti.
- 13 Cf. V R. 1. 39, V R. 2. 116, V R. 4. 21 and 33, V R. 5. 63 and 90 and 126, V R. 7. 10 and 13, and 53 and 70 and 104 and 107, V R. 9. 112 and 90, V R. 10. 7 and 19 and 22 and 109 and III R. 16, No. 4.
- 14 (V R. 10. 51 sq.) Nina-ki ⁵²alu ši-i-ru na-ram *ilu* Bilit (Variant Iš-tar.)

- 15 V R. 9. 87) *ilu* Bilit ḫa-rit-tú.

- 16 (V R. 9. 75) *ilu* Bilit ri-im-tú *ilu* Bil.

- 17 (V R. 10. 24) ul-tu a-na na-dan (?) *kirru* niḫâni-pl í-lu-u ²⁵ina Í-bar-bar šu-bat bilu-ti-šu-un ²⁶ma-ḫar *ilu* Bilit ummi ilâni-pl rabûti pl ²⁷ḫi-ir-tu na-ram-ti *ilu* Aššur ²⁸í-pu-šu.
- 18 (I R. 7. AL.³ 121) ¹A-na-ku m *ilu* Aššur-bani-apli šarri kiššati šarri *matu* *ilu* Aššur-ki ša *ilu* Aššur *ilu* Bilit í-mu-ki ši-ra-a-ti ²u-šat-li-mu-uš niši-pl ša ad-du-ku iṣu mid-pa-a-nu iz-zi-tú ša *ilu* Ištar bí-lit taḫazi ³ili-šu-un az-ku-up muḫ-ḫu-ru í-li-šu-nu ú-ma-ḫir karânu aḫ-ḫa-a í-li-šu-un.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN ASSURBANIPAL, 668-626 B. C.

- 1 "To execute the exalted command which Aššur, Bilit, Sin, Šamaš, Raman, Bil, Nabu, Ištar of Nineveh, the Queen of Kid-muri, Ištar of Arbela, Adar, Nergal (and) Nusku commanded, he assembled the people of Assyria," etc.

The point of the foregoing quotation, as that of the numerous references under No. 2, is that Ištar of Nineveh was a goddess of Assurbanipal's pantheon.

- 3 "Aššur and Ištar the gods my lords."

In the foregoing and in all the references under No. 4, Aššur and Ištar are classified together as "the great gods my lords."

- 5 "The brilliance of Aššur and Ištar overthrew him."
 6 "By the might of Aššur and Ištar my hand captured silver and gold."
 7 "After I had caused the weapons of Aššur and Ištar to march over Elam."
 8 "At the command of Aššur and Ištar who sent me."
 9 "Aššur and Ištar who march at my side."
 10 "In my prayers which I offered to Aššur and Ištar, my sighs they received, they heard the speaking of my lips."
 11 "At the command of Aššur and Ištar I entered into his palaces."
 12 "Who at the command of Aššur and Ištar became a servant" (lit. did service).

From these quotations and the references given under No. 13, it will be seen that the weapons, the government and the power of Assyria were ascribed to Aššur and Ištar, and all successes small and great were considered their gift.

- 14 "Nineveh, the lofty city beloved of Bilit (variant, Ištar)."

Hence Bilit is a synonym for, or title of Ištar, and we refer the following to her:

- 15 "Bilit the warriorress."
 16 "Bilit the beloved of Bil."

Who Bil is, a succeeding chapter will reveal.

- 17 "Afterwards I arranged to offer pure sacrifices in I-bar-bar, the dwelling of their lordship, before Bilit, the mother of the great gods, the favorite spouse of Aššur."
 18 "I am Assurbanipal, king of hosts, king of Assyria whom Aššur and Bilit made complete in lofty power. Over the lions which I killed, I lifted up the bow, the might of Ištar queen of battle. I offered over them a prayer. I poured wine over them."

- 19 (II R. 66. Sm. *Assurbanipal*, p. 303) ¹A-na Bilit bilit matâti a-ši-bat
 Î-bar-bar *m ilu* Aššur-bani-apli šarri *matu ilu* Aššur-ki rubu pa-liḫ-
 ša ²šakkânâku bin-ut ḫati-ša, etc.....⁶ina ū-mi-šu kisal bit
ilu Ištār bilit-ya ina pi-í li-iš-ki ⁷ši-kit-ta-šu ú-rab-bi a-na šat-ti *ilu*
 Bilit. kisal šu-a-tú pan ma-ḫir-ši ⁸uk-ki. ya-a-ti *m ilu* Aššur-bani-
 apli pa-liḫ ilu-ú-ti-ki rabi-ti ba-laṭ u-mi araki-*pl* ṭaba lib-bi itti rig-
 ma ittaliku Î-bar-bar lu-lab-bi-ra šipi-ya.

IŠTAR'S DESCENT.

(IV R. 31, Lenormant's *Choix Textes*, No. 30, AL³ p. 110 and Lyon's *Manual*.
 p. 63).

- 1 A-na mati la târat ḫaḫ-ḫa-ri i-ṭi-[i]
- 2 *ilu* Ištār binat *ilu* Sin ú-zu-un-ša iš-kun
- 3 iš-kun-ma binat *ilu* Sin ú-zu-un-[ša]
- 4 a-na bit i-ṭi-í šu-bat *ilu* Ir-kal-la
- 5 a-na biti ša í-ri-bu-šu la a-ṣu-u
- 6 a-na ḫar-ra-ni ša a-lak-ta-ša la ta-a-a-rat
- 7 a-na biti ša í-ri-bu-šu zu-mu-mu-ú nu-ú-ra
- 8 a-šar iprâti bu-bu-us-su-nu a-kal-šu-nu ṭi-it-ṭu
- 9 nu-ú-ru ul im-ma-ru ina i-ṭi-ti aš-ba
- 10 lab-šu-ma kima iṣ-ṣu-ri ṣu-bat kúp-pi.
- 11 íli *iṣu* dalti u *iṣu* sikkuri ša-pu-uḫ ip-ru
- 12 *ilu* Ištār a-na bab mati la târat ina ka-ša-di-ša
- 13 a-na *amiḫu* ḫipi ba-a-bi a-ma-tum iz-zak-kar
- 14 *amiḫu* ḫipi mî-í pi-ta-a ba-ab-ka
- 15 pi-ta-a ba-ab-ka-ma lu-ru-ba a-na-ku
- 16 šum-ma la ta-pat-ta-a ba-a-bu la ir-ru-ba a-na-ku
- 17 a-maḫ-ḫa-aṣ dal-tum sik-ku-ru a-šab-bir
- 18 a-maḫ-ḫa-aṣ si-ip-pu-ma u-šu-pal-kat *iṣu* dalâti-*pl*
- 19 u-ši-il-la-a mi-tu-ti akilûti-*pl* bal-ṭu-ti
- 20 íli bal-ṭu-ti i-ma-'a-du mi-tu-ti
- 21 *amiḫu* ḫipu pa-a-šu i-pu-uš-ma i-ḫab-bi
- 22 iz-zak-ka-ra a-na rabi-ti *ilu* Ištār
- 23 i-zi-zi bi-il-ti la ta-na-ša-aš-ši
- 24 lu-ul-lik šum-ki lu-ša-an-ni a-na šar-ra-ti *ilu* Allati
- 25 i-ru-um-ma *amiḫu* ḫipu iz-za-kar-[ra].....
- 26 an-ni-tu mî-í a-ḫa-ta-ki *ilu* Iš-tar.....

- 19 "To Bilit, lady of countries who dwells at Ibarbar, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, the prince, her worshipper, the mighty man, the creature of her hand, etc.....At that time an altar (?) of the house of Ištar my lady of *pi-i* stone I set up. Its work I elaborated for the pleasure (?) of Bilit. That altar (?) before her I placed. (To) me Assurbanipal, the worshipper of thy great divinity give a life of long days (and) goodness of heart. With a cry walking to and from Ibarbar may my feet grow old."

In confirmation of the identification of Ištar and Bilit made above it will be noticed that the two names are used interchangeably here in reference to one and the same goddess.

IŠTAR'S DESCENT.*

- 1 "Unto the country without return, the land of darkness
- 2 Ištar, daughter of Sin, set her ear.
- 3 The daughter of Sin set her ear
- 4 Unto the house of darkness, the dwelling of Irkalla,
- 5 Unto the house whose entrance has no exit,
- 6 Along the way whose going has no return,
- 7 Unto the house whose entrance is bereft of light,
- 8 Where dust is their food, their sustenance clay,
- 9 Light they do not see, in darkness they dwell,
- 10 They are clothed like birds (with) a garment of wings,
- 11 Over door and bolt the dust is spread.
- 12 Ištar, when she approached the gate of the land without return;
- 13 To the keeper of the gate addresses a word:
- 14 'Keeper of the waters open thy gate,
- 15 Open thy gate—I will enter!
- 16 If thou dost not open thy gate (so that) I can enter,
- 17 I will shatter the door, I will break the bolt,
- 18 I will break the threshold and shiver the doors;
- 19 I will raise up the dead to eat and live,
- 20 The dead will outnumber the living.'
- 21 The keeper opened his mouth and speaks,
- 22 He says to the princess Ištar:
- 23 'Stay, O lady, do not remove it (the door),
- 24 I will go (and) announce thy name to the queen Allat.'
- 25 The keeper entered and announces (to Allat)
- 26 'This water thy sister Ištar [has crossed]

* I refer this poem to the Ištar of Nineveh, as she is the only Ištar of whom it is said that she is the daughter of Sin and the sister of Šamaš. As the colophon of the tablet gives no hint of the place of composition, that point has to be decided on the evidence of the mythology.

- 27 mid *-gil-tu ša kip-pi-i rabûti-pl da.....
 28 *ilu* Allatu an-ni-ta i-[na ši-mi-ša]
 29 ki-ma ni-kis *isu* tap-pu i-ru.....
 30 ki-ma ša-baṭ ku-ni-ni iz-li.....
 31 mi-na-a lib-ba-ša ub-la-a-ni mi-na-a kab.....
 32 an-ni-tu mī-t a-na-ku it-ti.....
 33 ki-ma riḥši-pl mili-im ki-ma šikari (?) -pl. mili ma'di.....
 34 lu-ub-ki a-na itli-pl ša i-zi-bu *sal* ḥi-[ra-ti-šu-un]
 35 lu-ub-ki a-na *šal* ardâti-pl ša ištu šun *amilu* ḥa-i-ri-ši-[na].
 36 a-na *amilu* siḥrûti la-ki-i lu-ub-ki ša ina la umi-pl-šu tar.....
 37 a-lik *amilu* kipu pi-ta-aš-ši ba-ab-[ka]
 38 up-pi-is-si-ma ki-ma parši-pl la-bi-ru-[ti]
 39 il-lik *amilu* kipu ip-ta-aš-ša ba-ab-[šu]
 40 ir-bi bī-fl-ti Kutu-*ki* li-riš-[ma].
 41 ikal mati la târat li-iḥ-du ina pa-ni-ka
 42 išt-in baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal aga raba-a ša ḳaḳḳadi-ša,
 43 am-mī-ni *amilu* kipu ta-at-bal aga raba-a ša ḳaḳḳadi-ya.
 44 ir-bi bī-fl-ti ša *ilu* Allatu ki-a-am parši-pl-ša.
 45 šana-a baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal in-ša-ba-ti ša uz-ni-ša.
 46 am-mī-ni *amilu* kipu ta-at-bal in-ša-ba-ti ša uz-ni-ya.
 47 ir-bi bī-fl-ti ša *ilu* Allatu ḳi-a-am parši-pl-ša
 48 šal-šu baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal *abnu* niri-pl ša kišadi-ša,
 49 am-mī-ni *amilu* kipu ta-at-bal *abnu* niri-pl ša kišadi-ya.
 50 ir-bi bī-fl-ti ša *ilu* Allatu ki-a-am parši-pl-ša
 51 rib-u baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal du-di-na-ti ša irti-ša
 52 am-mī-ni *amilu* kipu ta-at-bal du-di-na-ti ša irti-ya.
 53 ir-bi bī-fl-ti ša *ilu* Allatu ḳi-a-am parši-pl-ša
 54 ḥaš-šu baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal šib-bu *abnu* yaraḥu ša ḳabli-pl-ša.
 55 am-mī-ni *amilu* kipu ta-at-bal šib-bu ša *abnu* yaraḥu ša ḳabli-pl-ya.
 56 ir-bi bī-fl-ti ša *ilu* Allatu ki-a-am parši-pl-ša.
 57 šitti-šu baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal šimiri-pl ḳati-ša u šipi-ša,
 58 am-mī-ni *amilu* kipu ta-at-bal šimiri-pl ḳati-ya u šipi-ya
 59 ir-bi bī-fl-ti ša *ilu* Allatu ki-a-am parši-pl-ša
 60 sib-u baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal šu-bat šapil-ti ša zu-um-ri-ša.

* According to Jeremias.

- 27 As a visitor (?) of the great fountains (?).....'
 28 When Allat heard this,
 29 Like the cutting of a *tap-pu* tree, she.....
 30 Like the destruction of the *kurinni* reed.....
 31 'What has her heart brought to me? What.....
 32 These waters I with.....
 33 Like the overflowings of a flood, like the rushing waters of a great flood....
 34 I will weep for men who have left their wives,
 35 I will weep for the handmaids taken from the bosom of their husbands.
 36 For the little children I will weep who out of their time.....
 37 Go, keeper, open thy gate to her,
 38 Do to her according to the ancient commands.'
 39 The keeper went and opened to her his door:
 40 'Enter, O lady, may *Kutu* (i. e. the underworld) rejoice,
 41 May the palace of the land without return be glad in thy presence,'
 42 He made her enter the first gate and approached (?) (her and) took away the
 great crown of her head.
 43 'Why, O, Keeper, dost thou take away the great crown of my head?'
 44 'Enter, O lady, because Allat—such are her commands.'
 45 The second gate he made her enter and approached (?) (her and) took away
 the ornaments of her ears.
 46 'Why, O keeper, dost thou take away the ornaments of my ears?'
 47 'Enter, O lady, for Allat—such are her commands.'
 48 The third gate he made her enter and approached (?) (her and) took away the
 necklace of her neck.
 49 'Why, O keeper, dost thou take away the necklace of my neck?'
 50 'Enter, O lady, for Allat—such are her commands.'
 51 The fourth gate he made her enter and approached (?) (her and) took away
 the clothing of her breast.
 52 'Why, O keeper, dost thou take away the clothing of my breast?'
 53 'Enter, O lady, for Allat—such are her commands.'
 54 The fifth gate he made her enter and approached her (?) (and) took away the
 gemmed girdle from her waist.
 55 'Why, O keeper dost thou take away the gemmed girdle of my waist?'
 56 'Enter, O lady, for Allat—such are her commands.'
 57 The sixth gate he made her enter and approached (?) (her and) took away the
 bracelets of her hands and feet.
 58 'Why, O keeper, dost thou take away the bracelets of my hands and feet?'
 59 'Enter, O lady, for Allat—such are her commands.'
 60 The seventh gate he made her enter and approached (?) (her and) took away
 the cincture of her loins.

- 61 am-mí-ni *amílu* kipu ta-at-bal šu-bat šapil-ti ša zu-um-ri-ya.
 62 ir-bi bí-íl-ti ša Allatu ki-a-am parši-*pl*-ša.
 63 iš-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma *ilu* Iš-tar a-na mati la târat u-ri-du
 64 *ilu* Allatu i-mur-ši-ma ina pa-ni-ša ir-'u-ub
 65 *ilu* Ištar ul im-ma-lik í-li-nu-uš-ša uš-bi
 66 *ilu* Allatu pa-a-šu i-pu-uš-ma i-ka-b-bi
 67 a-na *ilu* Nam-tar šukalli-ša a-ma-tum iz-zak-kar,
 68 a-lik *ilu* Nam-tar.....ya-ma
 69 šu-ša-aš-ši ana šu-lim.....*ilu* Ištar
 70 muruš ina.....ša
 71 muruš a-ḫi.....ša
 72 muruš šipi a.....ša
 73 muruš lib-bi a.....
 74 muruš kaḫḫadi ḫal.....
 75 a-na ša-a-ša gab-bi-ša-ma a-na.....
 76 ar-ki *ilu* Iš-tar bí-íl-ti.....
 77 a-na pur-ti alpu ul i-šah-ḫi-[it atana imiru ul u-ša-ra]
 78 ar-da-tum [ina šuḫi ul u-ša-ra ít-lu]
 79 it-til ít-[lu i-na ṭi-(mí)-šu].....
 80 [it-til ar-da-tum i-na a-ḫi.....ša

Reverse.

- 1 *ilu* Pap-sukkal ilâni-*pl* rabûti-*pl* gu-ud-du-ud ap-pa-šu pa-nu....
 2 kar-ru la-biš ma-li-í na.....
 3 il-lik *ilu* Šamaš i-na pa-an *ilu* Sin abi-šu i.....
 4 i-na pa-an *ilu* Ea šarri il-la-ka di-ma-a... ..
 5 *ilu* Iš-tar a-na irši-tim u-rid ul i-la-a
 6 ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma *ilu* Iš-tar a-na mati la târat u-ri-du
 7 a-na pur-ti alpu ul i-ših-ḫi-it imiru atana ul u-ša-ra
 8 ar-da-tum ina šuḫi ul u-ša-ra [it-]lu,
 9 it-til it-lu i-na ṭi-[mí]-šu,
 10 it-til ar-da-tum i-na a-ḫi.....ša
 11 *ilu* Ea ina im-ḫi lib-bi-šu ib-ta-ni [zik]-ru
 12 ib-ni-ma *m* Ud-du-šu-na-mir *amílu* as-sin-nu
 13 al-ka *m* Ud-du-šu-na-mir i-na bab mati la târat šu-kun pa-ni-ka
 14 siba babâni mati la târat lip-pi-[ti] i-na pa-ni-ka,
 15 *ilu* Allatu li-mur-ka-ma i-na pa-ni-ka li-iḫ-du,
 16 ul-tu lib-ba-ša i-nu-uḫ-ḫu kab-[ta]-as-sa ip-pi-rid-du-u,
 17 tum-mí-ši-ma šum ilâni-*pl* rabûti-*pl*.

- 61 'Why, O keeper, dost thou take away the cincture of my loins?'
- 62 'Enter, O lady, for Allat—such are her commands.'
- 63 As soon as Ištar had descended to the land without return,
- 64 Allat saw her and became enraged,
- 65 Ištar was not wise, she let loose upon her—
- 66 Allat opened her mouth and spoke,
- 67 To Namtar, her messenger she addressed a word:
- 68 'Go Namtarmyand
- 69 Bring her forth for seizing*Ištar,
- 70 With disease of the eyes[smite] her,
- 71 With disease of the side[smite] her,
- 72 With disease of the feet[smite] her,
- 73 With disease of the heart [smite her]
- 74 With disease of the head [smite her]
- 75 Upon her whole person [put disease]
- 76 After Ištar the lady [had descended to Hades]
- 77 With the cow the bull would not unite, nor the ass approach the she-ass,
- 78 A maid on the street did not approach a gentleman,
- 79 The gentleman slept at his command
- 80 The maid slept at the side of her

Reverse.

- 1 Pap-sukal, the messenger of the great gods bowed his face before (Šamaš)
- 2 Clad in mourning filled with
- 3 Šamaš went before Sin his father
- 4 Before Ea, the king, his tears flowed.
- 5 'Ištar went down into the earth and has not come up,
- 6 From the time when Ištar descended to the land without return,
- 7 With the cow the bull has not united, nor the ass approached the she-ass,
- 8 The maid does not approach the gentleman in the street,
- 9 The gentleman falls asleep at his command,
- 10 The maid falls asleep at the side of her
- 11 Ea in the wisdom of his heart created a man,
- 12 He created Uddušunamir, the servant of the gods.
- 13 'Go Uddušunamir, toward the land without return set thy face,
- 14 Let the seven gates of the land without return be opened before thy face,
- 15 Let Allat see thee and rejoice in thy presence,
- 16 After her heart is at rest and her wrath appeased,
- 17 Conjure her also by the name of the great gods,

* V R. 47. 46 has šu-lim = i-kim-mu.

- 18 šu-ki ʔaʔʔadi-*pl*-ka a-na su-ḫal zi-ki uz-na šu-kun,
 19 í bî-îl-ti su-ḫal zi-ku lid-nu-ni mî-*pl* ina lib-bi lu-ul-ta-ti,
 20 *ilu* Allatu an-ni-ta ina šî-mî-ša,
 21 tam-ḫa-aš šuna-ša taš-šu-ka u-ba-an-ša,
 22 tí-tir-ša-an-ni í-riš-tum la í-ri-ši,
 23 al-ka *m* Ud-du-šu-na-mir lu-zir-ka iṣ-ra raba-a,
 24 riḫši-*pl* *isu* narṭâbi-*pl* ali a-kal-ka,
 25 *karpanu* ḫa-ba-na-at ali ma-al-ti-it-ka
 26 *isu* šil duri lu-u man-za-zu-ka
 27 as-kup-pa-tu lu mu-ša-bu-ú-ka
 28 sak-ru u za-mu-u lim-ḫa-ṣu li-it-ka
 29 *ilu* Allatu pa-a-ša i-pu-uš-ma i-ḫab-bi
 30 a-na *ilu* Nam-tar šukalli-ša a-ma-tum iz-zak-kar
 31 a-lik *ilu* Nam-tar ma-ḫa-aš ikal kitti
 32 *abnu* askuppâti-*pl* ṣa-a i-na-ša arî(?)*-pl*,
 33 *ilu* A-nun-na-ki u-ši-ṣa-a i-na *isu* kussi ḫuraši šu-šib.
 34 *ilu* Ištar mî-*pl* balaṭi su-luḫ-ši-ma li-ḫa-aš-ši [ina maḫ]-ri-ya
 35 il-lik *ilu* Nam-tar im-ḫa-aš ikal kitta
 36 *abnu* askuppâti-*pl* u-ṣa-a i-na-ša *abnu* arî(?)*-pl*
 37 *ilu* A-nun-na-ki u-ši-ṣa-a ina *isu* kussi ḫuraši u-ši-šib
 38 *ilu* Iš-tar mi-*pl* balaṭi is-luḫ-ši-ma il-ka-aš-ši
 39 išt-in baba u-ši-ši-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši ṣu-bat šupil-ti ṣa zu-um-ri-ša
 40 šana-a baba u-ši-ši-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši ši-mir ḫati-ša u šipi-ša,
 41 šal-šu baba u-ši-ši-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši šib-bu *abnu* yaraḫu ṣa ḫabli-*pl*-ša,
 42 ribu-u baba u-ši-ši-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši du-di-na-ti ṣa irti-ša,
 43 ḫaš-šu baba u-ši-ši-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši niri-*pl* ṣa kišadi-ša,
 44 šitti-šu baba u-ši-ši-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši in-ṣa-ba-ti ṣa uzni-ša,
 45 sib-u baba u-ši-ši-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši a-gu-u ra-ba-a ṣa ʔaʔʔadi-ša.
 46 šum-ma nap-ṭi-ri-ša la ta-ad-di-nak-kan-ma a-na ṣa-ša-ma tir....
 47 a-na *ilu* Duzu ḫa-mir ši-iḫ-ru-[ti-ša]
 48 mî-*pl* il-lu-ti ra-am-mi-ik samna ṭaba.....
 49 ḫuššu lu-ub-bis-su imbu-bu *abnu* ukni lim-kut(?)

- 18 Lift up thy head to the source of the waters (?) fix thy purpose, (say)
 19 O lady do not stop the source of the flood (?) the waters in its midst I will
 drink.'
 20 Allat, when she heard this,
 21 Smote her thigh, she bit her finger (and said),
 22 'Thou hast made of me a request not to be made,
 23 Go, Uddūšunamir, I will shut thee up in the great prison,
 24 The mire of the city shall be thy food,
 25 The sewers of the city shall be thy drink,
 26 The shadow of the dungeon shall be thy dwelling,
 27 The threshold shall be thy seat,
 28 Prison and confinement shall shatter thy strength.'
 29 Allat opened her mouth and spoke,
 30 Unto Namtar, her messenger, a word she uttered ;
 31 'Go, Namtar, break open the eternal palace,
 32 Overturn the stones which support the threshold (?)
 33 Bring out the Anunaki, seat them on the golden throne,
 34 Over Ištar sprinkle the waters of life, and bring her before me.'
 35 Namtar went, he struck open the eternal palace
 36 He overturned the stones which supported the threshold (?)
 37 The Anunaki he brought, on the golden throne he seated them,
 38 He sprinkled Ištar with the water of life and brought her out.
 39 He brought her through the first gate and restored to her the cincture of her
 loins.
 40 He brought her through the second gate and restored to her the bracelets of
 her hands and feet.
 41 He brought her through the third gate and restored to her the gemmed girdle
 of her waist.
 42 He brought her through the fourth gate and restored to her the clothing of
 her breast.
 43 He brought her through the fifth gate and restored to her the necklace of her
 neck.
 44 He brought her through the sixth gate and restored to her the ornaments of
 her ears.
 45 He brought her through the seventh gate and restored to her the great crown
 of her head.'

(End of the legend: Priest begins :—)

- 46 'If she does not grant to thee her release, turn to her (again).
 47 Unto Tammuz the husband of her youth,
 48 Pour out the clear water, the good oil.....
 49 With costly clothing clothe him, a flute of lapis-lazuli may he play (?)

- 50u-ḥa-ti li-na-'a-a kab-ta.....
 51 [im-ḥa-aš] *ilu* Bi-li-li šu-ḫat-ta u-šak.....
 52 *abnu* inî-pl-ti ma-la-a bir.....
 53 ik-kil a-ḥi-ša taš-mi tam-ḥa-aš *ilu* Bi-li-li šu-kut-ta ša.....
 54 *abnu* inî-pl-ti un-tal-la-a pa-an.....
 55 a-ḥi i-du la ta-ḥab-bîl-an-[ni]
 56 ina â-mi *ilu* Duzu il-la-an-nî imbubu *abnu* ukni GUR *abnu* santu it-ti-
 šu il-la-an-nî
 57 it-ti-šu il-la-an-nî *amîlu* A-TI-pl u šal A-TI-pl.
 58 ina *isu* nutabi li-lu-nim-ma tur-ri-in li-iš-ši-nu.

This poem, though put at the end of the material from the reign of Assurbanipal, is probably by no means the latest in time of composition of the literary references to Iṣtar we have examined. The copies we have of it come, however, from the library of Assurbanipal, and being unable to assign its composition to a definite era, I have placed the poem with the material from his reign. We may sketch the worship of Iṣtar of Nineveh historically, then, as follows :

If not first introduced into Assyria at that time, her worship received a great impetus from Aššurnāṣirpal I, about 1800 B. C. His language leaves us in doubt at first whether to adopt the former of these possibilities or not. In line 24 of his hymn he distinctly says, "the people of Assyria neither knew nor received thy divinity." This, however, may be nothing more than poetical hyperbole, and lines 31-33,

"It went forth from thy mouth to renew the burned gods,

"The falling temples I renewed,

"The overthrown gods I built up, I restored to their places,

lead us to think that the other is but poetical exaggeration. There had evidently been in Assyria before temples and images of the goddess.* These had been burned, and her shrines had lain waste for a time and her supremacy partly forgotten, until Assurnāṣirpal rebuilt her temples, restored her images, and recalled her devotees to their allegiance.

This accords with what we should expect. It would be inconceivable that a Semitic goddess whose worship was so widely extended, and so prominent in Babylonia, should have ever been unknown to the Assyrians, a people who separated from the Babylonians at so late a date ; but that in the fortunes of war her

*My friend, Professor Herman V. Hilprecht, of the University of Pennsylvania, informs me that he connects the name Ninever with the name Nana, an old name for Iṣtar, and thinks the worship of this goddess was introduced into Nineveh about 2800 B. C. I do not know the line of reasoning by which he reaches this conclusion; for this the reader is referred to Professor Hilprecht's *Etymology of Nineveh*, soon to be published.

- 50 May the Uḫati wail with heavy (wailing),
 51 May the goddess Bilili break the furniture of.....
 52 With diamonds shall the.....be full,'
 (Narrative).
 53 The wailing of her brother she heard, Bilili broke the furniture of.....
 54 With diamonds was filled the.....
 (Voice from the dead)
 55 'My only brother, do thou not injure me.
 56 On the day of Tammuz play for me the lapis-lazuli flute, play for me the
 santu flute !
 57 At that time play for me, wailing men, and wailing women,
 58 On *nutabi* instruments play, let them breathe incense.' "
-

temples should be destroyed, and her worship in consequence be largely neglected till some leader arose to rebuild her shrines is not only highly probable but it seems historically true.

Assurnasirpal was, perhaps, the first one to build a temple for Ištar in Nineveh itself, but even of that his language leaves us in doubt.

We may, however, infer from his hymn that in 1800 B. C. Ištar was one of the chief deities of Nineveh. Not a supreme deity, however, as she is asked to intercede with Aššur as though he were the chief divinity. She is regarded as Aššur's wife, and undoubtedly stood next to him in the popular estimation.

As has been noted above from 1800-885 B. C. we have no certain mention of Ištar of Nineveh. During a part of that time the seat of government was at Aššur, so that the Ištar of that city naturally appears in the royal annals rather than the Ištar of Nineveh. The lack of reference to her for so long a time, however, is owing probably to the paucity of extant documents referring to this period.

It was noted above that in Assurbanipal there is evidence that Bilit and Ištar of Nineveh are identical, or to state it more accurately Bilit was at first a mere epithet of Ištar, who all through Assurnasirpal's hymn is addressed as *Biltu*, and that afterwards the line of separation between Bilit as an epithet of Ištar and Bilit as a separate divinity became very indistinct and fluctuating so that now the two names were supposed to refer to the same, and now to different deities. As we shall see hereafter the same thing happened in the case of the Assyrian Bil, the Babylonian Bil, and the Phoenician Baal.

On this ground the following expression of Tiglath-pileser I (cir. 1100 B. C.) may perhaps refer to Ištar of Nineveh—"Bilit the exalted spouse, the beloved of Aššur my lord." (Cf. I R. 12. 34, 35.)

Be this as it may, when Ištar of Nineveh reappears in the royal annals in the reign of Assurnasirpal II. (885-860 B. C.), she is still classed with Aššur as one of

the two first gods of the land. Aššur and Ištar are for him "the great gods my lords."

In the reigns immediately following she is less often referred to, and it would seem that if her worship did not decline among the people it was less esteemed by the reigning princes. Though Shalmaneser, Shamshi-raman and Sargon all mention her, and in terms of the highest reverence, it is not until Sennacherib (705-681 B. C.) that we find her classed with Aššur as one of the two chief deities. The mere absence of such mention, however, does not imply that she had ever really lost that place.

Under the Sargonidae, moreover, her worship received a new impulse, and underwent a great revival, which culminated in the reign of Assurbanipal. While Sennacherib revives the old custom of referring to her as one of the two chief deities, the mentions of her in Esarhaddon are still more frequent and explicit, and his great son Assurbanipal refers to her more often than all his predecessors together, and in a way that reveals a very great reverence for her.

Thus the worship of Ištar of Nineveh appears most clearly at the two extremes of Assyrian history, its dawn and its brilliant sunset.

As to the form assumed by the Ištar cult at Nineveh we have a few indications. When first we have mention of her, she is "the one who inhabits I-bar-bar," the house of heavenly dominion(?) which was situated near the river Tibilti and the spot where Sennacherib built his palace which Assurbanipal remodelled and repaired. This temple when first mentioned (cir. 1800 B. C.) has its interior adorned with gold. This then is no primitive sanctuary of a rude tribe, but the splendid temple of a nation considerably advanced in the arts of life. In the reign of Assurnasirpal II., a thousand years later, beams of wood were brought from the country of the Ismikhri to repair this temple, and 200 years later Assurbanipal adds an elaborate altar. When first we are introduced to this temple, moreover, a bed of some costly wood is mentioned, which is described as a *ma'alu tak-ni-i*, (a firm divan) which gives rest to her divinity. For what it was used we are left to conjecture. It seems probable, however, that at public feasts the image of the goddess reclined on it as the Roman gods reclined at their *lectisternia*. It may, however, have been connected with some obscene rite in the Ištar worship, though we have no evidence of the existence of such rites at Nineveh. Assurnasirpal I. again boasts that with precious stones he adorned the statue(?) of the goddess, and that he had set up the fourteen goddesses connected with her. As Brünnow suspects, these fifteen images seem to have some connection with the well-known ideogram of Ištar.

As to the ritual connected with this temple we have little information. That wine was an important element in it seems clear both from Assurnasirpal's boast that he had made "abundant the wine, the joy of thy heart, which thou lovest," and his complaint that for him the "wine of the temple service into gall was

changed." Esarhaddon tells us that he offered large pure sacrifices before Aššur and Ištar. This was not done in the temple, however, but in his palace at its dedication, when he made a great feast for the princes and people of his realm.*

Aššurbanipal again tells us that at the close of the Arabian campaign he offered pure sacrifices in I-bar-bar, Ištar's own temple. This, however, was no ordinary occasion. It was a thanksgiving for a great triumph. Four fallen kings drew the monarch's triumphal car, and the whole proceeding was conducted with no ordinary pomp (cf. V R. 10. 13-39). The mention of pure sacrifices both by Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, although in Assyrian different words are used by the two kings to convey the idea (Esarhaddon using *ibbuti* and Aššurbanipal *ilū*) seems to point to a distinction between clean and unclean beasts as regards sacrifice. What this distinction was we can only conjecture. Perhaps the use of *kirru*, lamb as the regular determinative before the word for sacrifice gives us a hint toward the solution of this point.

As to the use of wine in Ištar worship, we gain some light from Aššurbanipal's hunting inscription quoted above, p. 140, especially when taken in connection with the bas-relief which it explains. The king stands before an altar and pours out the wine as a libation to the goddess, in thanksgiving for his victory in the chase.

From the mention in Ištar's Descent of the "Day of Tammuz," and the request there made that the wailing men and women would wail for some one, it is certain that the Tammuz myth was known at Nineveh, and that the days of wailing for him were observed there. Obscure as the concluding lines of the poem which contain this request are, it is certain from the tone of the request that this was a day of especial worship in which Ištar was peculiarly interested. It may well have been that there were especial feast days too, when especial sacrifices were offered to Ištar as we shall see was the case in Cyprus and Sicily. From Assurbanipal's wish that his feet might grow old going to and from I-bar-bar there would seem to have been some regular service to the goddess there.

There is, however, clear evidence that sacrifice to her was not confined to the temple precincts as in the case of the second Jewish temple, but that sacrifices were offered to her at feasts, somewhat as they were to Yahweh in the days of Amos and Hosea. In addition to sacrifice wine was poured out in libation evidently with the thought that thus the goddess drank it and her heart was made glad.

The kings speak of themselves as priests, and Assurnasirpal II. speaks of Ištar as loving his priesthood, but we have no evidence of an organized priesthood of Ištar at Nineveh, although undoubtedly such a priesthood existed. There is, moreover, no evidence that the ritual of sacrifice contained any special rubric for the priest.

* It is possible, however, that the temple was at the palace entrance.

Sacrifice, as it appears to us from the inscriptions, was a joyous feast, where a part of the viands were offered to the god, a thanksgiving libation for success in the chase or a thanksgiving offering for victory in war.

Both in Assurnāṣirpal's hymn and in Iṣtar's Descent, Iṣtar is mythologically represented as the daughter of Sin and the sister of Šamaš. In the hymn, moreover, and in the historical inscriptions she is represented as the wife or beloved of Aššur, while the Descent refers to Tammuz as the husband of her youth. This variation at Nineveh in the representations of Iṣtar's conjugal relations is an interesting point. It indicates that the Assyrians brought the Tammuz myth to Assyria with them, and then feeling the necessity of a union between their national god and their chief goddess, they produced, in course of time, the conception that she was the wife of Aššur. That they could, in spite of this, retain the old representation is but a reflection of the old polyandrous characteristics of Iṣtar which we shall discuss in a future section.

The religious conceptions embodied in the worship of Iṣtar at Nineveh are revealed to us in numerous epithets.

First. She is the goddess of productivity—of sexual feeling. When she descends to the lower world all sexual desire ceases both in man and beast. (Whence the myth of her descent arose we shall discuss more fully in the concluding paragraph). She herself is called the firstborn of heaven and earth, and for Sargon was the goddess "who makes the people thrive."

Secondly. She is a great mother goddess; she is called the "mother of the great gods," and "the mother of wisdom."

Thirdly. She is a queen—"queen of the gods"—"lady of majesty"—"the exalted one of the gods"—"the one who determines decrees"—"the goddess of the universe"—"the lady of heaven and earth."

Fourthly. She is in especial relationship to the people of Nineveh. She is the "lady of Nineveh" and "Nineveh is the city beloved of Iṣtar."

Fifthly. This relationship makes her take the deepest interest in the life of its people, so that with Aššur her husband she exerts her power to reduce to servitude the enemies of her servants, to send forth her devotees on their campaigns, to march at their side, to give them wealth and by her brilliance to aid in subduing all their foes.

Sixthly. As a direct result of the last conception Iṣtar becomes a warrior goddess who "brings her heart to the accomplishment of battle and war," who is a "warrioress," who is "perfect in bravery," and who is the "queen of fight and battle."

Seventhly. She is the goddess who loves justice (*mi-šar-ra*).

Eighthly. She is the "merciful goddess" who is "distressed by all that is corrupted" or goes wrong.

All these conceptions are clearly defined in the inscriptions. It is not our purpose here to attempt to account for them or to trace them to their source. We leave that to a future section.

We may note here, however, that in spite of all the noble conceptions of Ištar she is not the supreme divinity, but Assurnāṣirpal I. prays that she will intercede for him with Assur her beloved, the father of the gods. This is a distinct mark of the religious conceptions of the times.

We have in these inscriptions in addition to the epithets of the goddess one indication of the nature of the conception of the supernatural at Nineveh. Esarhaddon tells us that he invited (*aḫ-ri*) Aššur and Ištar into his palace to a feast. This indicates that as late as his day the gods were conceived as of such a nature that they could share a feast with their worshippers, and that their worshippers were upon such good terms with them that the gods would thus meet them; for he tells us "that these gods in the faithfulness of their hearts drew near to my royalty." It was perhaps for some such occasion as this that the couch and divan mentioned by Assurnāṣirpal were provided.

This conception was, in all probability, but a survival in Esarhaddon's time from an earlier and cruder age.

Worthy of note also from a religious point of view is the tone of Assurnāṣirpal's hymn given above. Its exaltation of the deity, its fervor, its religious depth, its recognition of the dependence of man upon the divine, its confidence that the deity can dispell all sorrows, and that all will be well when to the human servant's cry the divine heart is open, remind us strongly of some strains in the Jewish psalter, and are certainly most remarkable.

§ 2. IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR IN RAMAN-NIRARI I. CIR. 1325 B. C.

- 1 (IV R. 44. 10) *ma-al-ki ù rabûti-pl. ¹¹ilu A-nu ilu Aššur ilu Šamaš ilu Raman ¹²ù ilu Ištār a-na ši-pi-šu ú-ši-ik-ni.*

- 2 (IV R. 45. 29) *ilu A-nu ilu Bīl ilu Ea ù ilu Ištār³⁰ ilāni-pl rabûti-pl.*

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR IN TIGLATH-PILESER I. CIR. 1100 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 9. 13) *ilu Ištār riš-ti ilāni-pl bī-lit tī-ši-ī mu-šar-ri-ḥat ḫabli-pl-tī.*

- 2 (I R. 12. 34) *šá al-ka-a a-na ú-tu-'u-ut bit ilu Bīlit ³⁵hi-ir-tī rabi-tī na-šad-di ilu A-šur bīli-ya³⁶ ilu A-nim ilu Raman ilu Ištār a-šu-ri-tī ³⁷kur-pl-at ali-ya ilu A-šur ³⁸u ištārâ-pl-at mat-ti-ya lu-ú aš-ru-uḫ.*

- 3 (I R. 14. 85) *iš-tu nakrû-pl-ut ilu A-šur a-na paṭ gim-ri-šu-nu ³⁹a-pi-lu-ú bit ilu Ištār aš-šu-ri-i-tī.....ipu-uš.*

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR IN ASSURBANIPAL 668-626 B. C.

- 1 (V R. 1. 65) *aš-ši ḫati-ya u-šal-li ilu Aššur u ilu Ištār aššur-i-tī. ⁶⁶Ad-ki-ī amīlu í-mu-ki-ya ši-ra-a-tī ša ilu Aššur u ilu Ištār ⁶⁷ú-mal-lu-u ḫatu-u-a.*

Our materials are too few to enable us to give anything like a historical sketch of the worship of Ištār at Aššur. The Ištār of that city is apparently a goddess in the pantheon of Raman-nirari I. (cir. 1315 B. C.). Aššur seems to have been one of the older of the Assyrian cities, and we may be sure both on the grounds of antecedent probability, and from the fact that Ištār of Aššur is cir. 1300 B. C. a chief goddess in a royal pantheon, that her worship at that city extends back to an antiquity considerably more remote.

In Tiglath-pileser I. the references to this Ištār are very distinct. She is for him an important goddess, though perhaps not the chief goddess. He calls Bīlit "the great spouse, the beloved of Aššur." As we have seen in the foregoing section there is some ground for supposing that Bīlit is the Ištār of Nineveh. Does Tiglath-pileser then recognize Aššur and the Ištār of Nineveh as the supreme deities of his land, while with his capital at Aššur, he had the temple of another Ištār at his very doors? This is very improbable. As we have already seen the term *bīlu* or *bīlit* like the Canaanite *baal* was originally a title. It is quite as likely that that title was applied by Tiglath-pileser to the Ištār of his own capital as that it should be applied by

§ 2. IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR IN RAMAN-NIRARI I. CIR. 1325 B. C.

- 1 "Kings and princes Anu, Aššur, Šamaš, Raman and Ištar subdued under his feet."
-
- 2 "Anu, Bil, Ea, and Ištar, the great gods."
-

As the inscription in which these passages occur was found at Aššur, I infer that Aššur was Raman-nirari's capital, and that he mentions the Ištar of that city.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR IN TIGLATH-PILESER I. CIR. 1100 B. C.

- 1 "Ištar, the first born of the gods, the queen of fight(?) the one who gives strength for battle."
-
- 2 "Which I took as a present(?) to the temple of Bilit, the great spouse, the beloved of Aššur my lord, (to the temples of) Anu, Raman, Ištar of Aššur, the temples of my city Aššur, and of the goddesses of my land, I presented."
-
- 3 After the enemies of Assur to their farthest limit I had subdued, I built the temple of Ištar of Aššur.
-

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR IN ASSURBANIPAL 668-626 B. C.

- 1 "I lifted up my hands I besought Aššur and Ištar of Aššur. I mustered my noble forces with which Aššur and Ištar had filled my hand."
-

Assyrian kings living at Nineveh to the goddess of their own city. We may therefore assume that to Tiglath-pileser Ištar was the supreme goddess who with Aššur her husband watched over his empire and directed the fortunes of himself and his people.

From the time of Tiglath-pileser I. we have no mention of the Ištar of Aššur for nearly 500 years. The capital went back to Nineveh, and the Ištar of that city filled both the royal eye and the royal annals during the succeeding centuries. At last the silence is broken, however, by Assurbanipal. He tells us that on one occasion he prayed to Ištar of Aššur. This assures us that during these five centuries of silence the worship of Ištar had gone on in that city, though perhaps in a less splendid style than at Nineveh owing to royal neglect. After Assurbanipal, silence unbroken closes over the Ištar of Aššur as over everything else Assyrian.

As to the form assumed by the Ištar cult at Aššur we know absolutely nothing. Tiglath-pileser tells us that he "built the temple of Ištar of Aššur," and we infer that he did it with a royal magnificence similar to that displayed by Assurnasirpal I. in the temple of Ištar at Nineveh, but beyond this we have no testimony. We may assume, perhaps, that the rites here were similar to those at Nineveh. We have already seen that this Ištar like the one at Nineveh was probably called the wife of Aššur. We may hence infer that the myths connected with these two Ištars were the same.

We have moreover almost no clue to the religious conceptions connected with the Ištar of Aššur. She is called "the first born of the gods," "the queen of fight

§ 3. IŠTAR OF ARBELA.

MENTION OF IŠTAR OF ARBELA IN SENNACHERIB 705-681 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 41. 50) *Ilu Aššur ilu Sin ilu Šamaš ilu Bīl ilu Nabu ilu Nergal ilu Ištar ša Nina-ki ilu Ištar ša alu Arba-ili ilāni-pl ti-ik-li-ya.*

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF ARBELA IN ESARHADDON 681-668 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 45. 4) [*ilu Aššur*] *ilu Sin ilu Šamaš ilu Nabu ilu Marduk ilu Ištar ša Nina-ki ilu Ištar ša Arba-ili-ki ilāni-pl. rabūti-pl.*

- 2 (IV R. 68. Col. III. 15) *A-na-ku ilu Ištar ša alu Arba-ili¹⁶ m Aššur-aḫi-iddina šarri matu ilu Aššur-ki¹⁷ ina alu Aššur alu Nina¹⁸ alu Kal-ḫa alu Arba-ili¹⁹ umi-pl ar-ku-u-tī²⁰ šanāti-pl da-ra-tī²¹ a-na m ilu Aššur-aḫi-iddina šarri-ya²² a-da-an-na. ²³sa-ap-su-up-ta-ka²⁴ ra-bī-tu a-na-ku²⁵ mu-ši-šu-ta-ka²⁶ di-ik-tu a-na-ku. ²⁷ša ū-mi ar-ku-tī²⁸ šanāti-pl da-ra-tī²⁹ iṣu kussa-ka ina irši-ta šam-ī³⁰ ra-bu-tī uk-tī-iu. ³¹ina ma-si-ki ša ḫuraši³² ina ḫabal šam-ī a-ḫa-ri-dī. ³³nu-ur ša il-mī-ši³⁴ ina pan m ilu Aššur-aḫi-iddina šarri matu ilu Aššur³⁵ ū-ša-na-ma-ra. ³⁶ki-i a-gi-ī ša ḫaḫḫadi-ya³⁷ a-ḫa-ri-su. ³⁸la ta-pa-laḫ šarru³⁹ aḫ-ti-ba-ak ⁴³nāru ina tu-ku-un-ni⁴⁵ ū-ši-ba-ar-ka. ⁴⁶m ilu Aššur-aḫi-iddina ap-lu⁴⁷ ki-ī-nu apal ilu Bīlit ⁴⁸ina ḫati-ya⁵⁰ amīlu nakirī-pl-ka⁵¹ ū-ḫa-at-ta.*

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF ARBELA IN ASSURBANIPAL 668-626 B. C.

- 1 (V R. I. 13) *ilu Aššur ilu Bīlit ilu Sin ilu Šamaš ilu Raman ilu Bīl ilu Nabu ilu Ištar ša Nina-ki ilu Šar-rat kid-mu-ri ilu Ištar ša alu Arba-ili-ki ilu Adar ilu Nergal ilu Nusku.*

who gives strength for battle;" hence we know that she was a goddess of productivity—of love, and also a goddess of battle. As we have seen she is classed by two of the kings who worshipped her with Aššur as one of the supreme divinities. As all these conceptions coincide with conceptions entertained at Nineveh with reference to the Ištar of that city, we may infer that had we more information concerning the Ištar of Aššur it would but go to show that in all their attributes the two goddesses were identical. Indeed, Assurbanipal in the passage quoted above speaks of the Ištar of Aššur just as everywhere else he speaks of the Ištar of Nineveh, showing that in his thought they were so alike as to be practically interchangeable.

§3. IŠTAR OF ARBELA.

MENTION OF IŠTAR OF ARBELA IN SENNACHERIB 705-681 B. C.

- 1 "Aššur, Sin, Šamas, Bil, Nabu, Nergal, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, the gods whom I trust."

This quotation is repeated from p. 138, to recall the fact that Ištar of Arbela was a member of Sennacherib's pantheon.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF ARBELA IN ESARHADDON 681-668 B. C.

- 1 "Aššur, Sin, Šamaš, Nabu, Marduk, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, the great gods."

She was, then, a member of Esarhaddon's pantheon.

-
- 2 "I am Ištar of Arbela, O Esarhaddon, king of Assyria; in Aššur, Nineveh, Kalah (and) Arbela, long days, and everlasting years I will give to Esarhaddon, my king. Thy limbs I enlarge. Thy guide, thy vengeance am I. For long days (and) everlasting years I have established thy throne in earth (and) great heaven. For (my) covering of gold in the midst of the heaven I am careful(?). I will cause the light which surrounds it to shine before Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, like the crown of my head, I will make it bright. Do not fear, O king, I have spoken to thee. The river with certainty I will cause thee to cross. O Esarhaddon, faithful son, son of Bilit. by my hand I will make an end of thy foes," etc.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF ARBELA IN ASSURBANIPAL 668-626 B. C.

- 1 "Aššur, Bilit, Sin, Šamaš, Raman, Bil, Nabu, Ištar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Adar, Nergal and Nusku."

This list is repeated from p. 140 to show that Ištar of Arbela was a member of Assurbanipal's pantheon.

- 1 (V R. 3. 4) Ina a-mat *ilu* Ištar ⁵a-ši-bat *alu* Arba-ili ša ultu ri-i-ši tak-bu-u um-ma ana-ku mi-tu-tu *m* Aḫ-šī-i-ri šarri *matu* Man-na-a-a ki-i ša aḫ-bu-u ip-pu-uš ina ḫata ardāni-pl-šu tam-nu-šu-u-ma etc.
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- 2 (V R. 5. 95sq. AS³. p. 118) Ummânâti-ya *naru* Id-id-i a-gu-u šam-ru ⁹⁶i-mu-ru ip-la-ḫu a-na ni-ba-ar-ti. ⁹⁷*ilu* Ištar a-ši-bat *alu* Arba-ili ina šat mu-ši ⁹⁸a-na ummânâti-ya šuttu u-šab-ri-ma ⁹⁹ki-a-am iḫ-bi-šu-nu-ti ¹⁰⁰um-ma a-na-ku al-lak ina ma-ḫar *m* *ilu* Aššur-bani-apla ¹⁰¹šarri ša ib-na-a ḫata-a-a, ¹⁰²i-li šutti an-na-ti ummânâti-ya ir-ḫu-šu ¹⁰³*naru* Id-id-i i-bi-ru šal-miš.
-
- 3 (III R. 32. 16sq. Sm. *Assurbanipal*, p. 119sq.) Ina *arab* Abu arab na-an-ḫar-ti *kakabu* Kašti ¹⁷i-sin-ni šar-ra-ti ka-bit-ti binatang *ilu* Bīl a-na pa-laḫ-ša rab-ti aš-ba-ak ¹⁹ina *alu* Arba-ili ali na-ram lib-bi-ša, ²⁰aš-šu ti-bu-ut *amīlu* Ílam-i ša ba-lu ilāni-pl it-ba-a ²¹[u-ša]-an-nu-u-ni ṭi-i-mu ²²um-ma *m* Ti-um-man ki-a-am iḫ-bi ²³ša *ilu* Ištar ú-ša-an-nu-u mi-lik ti-mī-šu ²⁴um-ma ul ú-maš-šar a-di a-la-ku ²⁵it-ti-šu i-pu-šu mit-ḫu-šu-ti. ²⁶su-par mi-ri-iḫ-ti an-ni-ti ša *m* Ti-um-man ²⁷iḫ-bu-u am-ḫar [ša]-ḫu-ti *ilu* Iš-tar ²⁸a-zi-ma ana tar-ši-ša, ak-mi-iš ša-pal-ša ²⁹ilu-us-sa ú-ša-ap-pa-a il-la-ka di-ma-a-a ³⁰um-ma bī-lat *alu* Arba-ili a-na-ku *m* *ilu* Aššur-bani-apla šarri *matu* *ilu* Aššur ³¹bī-mi-ut ḫati-kiabu ba-nu-ki ³²a-na ud-du-ši iš-ri-i-ti *matu* *ilu* Aššur-ki u šuk-lul ma-ḫa-zi *matu* Akkad-ki.....³³a-na-ku aš-ri-i-ki aš-ti-ni-fa a-li-ka a-na pa-liḫ.....³⁴ú šu-ú *m* Ti-um-man šarri *matu* Ílamtu-ki la mu-sa-kir ilāni-pl ku.....li a-na.....³⁵um-ma at-ti bī-lat bī-li-i-ti i-mat ḫab-li bī-lat ta-ḫa-zi ma-li-kat ilāni-pl.....³⁶ša ina ma-ḫar *ilu* Aššur abi ba-ni-ki damiḫta tak-bi-i i-na ni....³⁷iḫ-šu-ḫa-an-ni....³⁸a-na šu-ṭu-ub lib-bi *ilu* Aššur u nu-uḫ-ḫi ka-bat-ti *ilu* Marduk...ru-ur-ru-ki....³⁹aš-šu *m* Ti-um-man šarri *matu* Ílamtu-ki ⁴⁰ša a-na *ilu* Aššur....⁴¹abi ba-ni-ki iḫ-ṭu-u....(a) ú a-na *ilu* Marduk aḫi, ta-li-mi-ki ilu-tu-šu nam.....(b) ú ya-a-ši *m* Aššur-bani-apla ša a-na nu-uḫ lib-bi *ilu* Aššur u.....⁴²id-ka-a ummânâti-šu iḫ-ṣu-ra ta-ḫa-zu ⁴³u-ša-a-a-la iṣu kakki-pl-šu a-na alak *matu* *ilu* Aššur-ki ⁴⁴um-ma at-ti ḫa-šit-ti ilāni-pl kima bīlti ⁴⁵ina ḫa-bal tam-ḫa-ri pu-uṭ-ṭi-ri-šu-ma di-kiš-šu mi-ḫu-ú ⁴⁶šāri lim-nu. in-ḫi-ya šu-nu-ḫu-ti *ilu* Ištar iš-mī-ma ⁴⁷la ta-pal-luḫ iḫ-ba-a ú-šar-ḫi-za-an-ni lib-bu ⁴⁸a-na ni-iš ḫati-ki ša taš-ša-a iní-ka im-la-a di-im-tú ⁴⁹ar-ta-ši rimu. ina šat mu-ši šu-a-tu ša am-ḫu-ru-ši ⁵⁰išt-in šap-ru-u ú-tu-ul-ma i-na-ṭal šutta ⁵¹i-gi-il-ti-ma tab-šit mu-ši

- 1 "According to the word Ištar, who dwells at Arbela, which from the first she had spoken saying, 'I will accomplish the death of Ah-ši-i-ri, king of the Mannaens, according as I said,' she gave him into the hands of his servants."

- 2 "My forces saw the river Ididi, a violent torrent and they were afraid to cross it. Ištar, who dwells at Arbela during an hour of the night, caused my forces to see a dream, and thus she spoke to them saying, 'I am going before Assurbanipal the king, whom my hand has created.' Upon this dream my forces overflowed (with joy) and crossed the Ididi safely."

- 3 "In the month Ab, the month of the appearance(?) of the star, Kaštu (Sagittarius), the feast of the glorious queen, the daughter of Bil, to worship her, the great one, I poured out a libation(?) in Arbela, the city which is the delight of her heart, because concerning the coming of the Elamite who came in opposition to the gods, they brought me news, saying: 'Tiumman thus has said of Ištar' (and) they repeated to me the tenor of his messagesaying: 'I will not depart until I go with him (Assurbanipal) to make war.' On account of this threat(?) which Tiumman had uttered I prayed to the lofty one, Ištar. I approached into her presence. I bowed beneath her, her divinity I honored, my tears flowed. [I prayed] saying: 'Lady of Arbela, I am Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, the creature of thy hands.the father who begat thee, to restore the temples of Assyria, and complete the cities of Akkad.I cared for thy courts, I have come to worship.and he, Tiumman, king of Elam, who does not honor the gods....to.... Thou art the lady of ladies, terrible in onslaught, the lady in battle, the queen of the gods....who in the presence of Aššur the father who begat thee, speakest favor in. loved me(?). To rejoice the heart of Aššur and appease the liver of Marduk...thy *ru-ur-ru*.... As to Tiumman, king of Elam who against Aššur....the father who begat thee has sinned....and against Marduk, the brother, thy companion, his divinity.and me Assurbanipal, who to give rest to the heart of Aššur and.he has mustered his forces, he has prepared for war, he has demanded his weapons to march against Assyria. O thou warriress of the gods, strike him down like a weight in the midst of battle and kill him (as) a storm of evil wind.' My intense supplication Ištar heard, and 'do not fear,' she said, she made my heart confident. 'On account of the lifting up of thy hands which thou hast lifted up, and thy eyes (which) were filled with tears, I grant favor.' In an hour of that night when I prayed to her, a seer, lay down and saw a prophetic(?) dream and Ištar caused him to

ilu Ištar ú-šab-ru-u-šu ⁵²ú-ša-an-na-a ya-a-ti um-ma *ilu* Ištar a-ši-bat *alu* Arba-ili ⁵³ru-ub-am-ma imna u šumila tu-ul-la-a-ta iš-pa-a-ti ⁵⁴tam-ḥa-at *iḥu* kaštu i-na i-di-ša ⁵⁵šal-pat nam-ša-ru kab-tu ša í-piš ta-ḥa-zi. ⁵⁶ma-ḥar-ša ta-zi-iz. ši-i ki-ma umma ⁵⁷a-lit-ti i-tam-ma-a it-ti-ka ⁵⁸l-si-ka. *ilu* Ištar ša-ku-ut ilâni-pl i-šak-kan-ka ti-f-mu ⁵⁹um-ma ta-na-ṭa-la a-na í-piš ša-aš-ši ⁶⁰a-šar pa-nu-ki šak-nu. ti-ba-ku a-na-ku ⁶¹at-ta ta-ḥab-bi-ši um-ma a-šar tal-la-ki ⁶²it-ti-ki lul-lik. bílat bíliti-pl ši-i tu-ša-an-nak-ka umma at-ta a-kan-na ⁶⁴lu aš-ba-ta a-šar maš-kan-i *ilu* Nabu. ⁶⁵a-kul a-ka-lu ši-ti ku-ru-un-nu ⁶⁶nin-gu-ut šu-kunn u-u-id ilu-ti, ⁶⁷a-di al-la-ku šip-ru šu-a-tu ip-pu-šu. ⁶⁸u-šak-ša-du šu-mí-rat lib-bi-ka. ⁶⁹pa-nu-u-ka ul ur-rak ul i-nir-ru-da šipi-ka, ⁷⁰ul ta-ú-rid šu-par-ka. ⁷¹ina ḳabal tam-ḥa-ri ina ki-rim-mi ša ṭabti taḥ-zi-in-ka-ma. ⁷²taḥ-tí-na gi-mir la-a-ni-ka ⁷³pa-nu-uš-ša išatu in-na-pi-ih a-na ka-ša-ad *amílu* nakirí-pl-[ka].

- 1 (I R. 8, No. 2, Pinches' *Texts*, p. 17sq.) *alu* Arba-ili šu-bat *ilu* Ištar bit i-sin-na-a-ti ši(?).....²šá ul-tu ul-la duri-šu la ib-šu la šuk-lu-la [šal-ḥu-u-šu]. ³du-ri-šu ar-šip-ma u-šak-lil šal-ḥu-u-šu lu-li-í [uš-mal-li] ⁴bit *ilu* Ištar bilti-ya ina šarpi ḥuraši íri ú-nam-mir ki-ma ú-mi ⁵*iḥu* šu-ri-in-ni bâb bit *ilu* Iš-tar šarpu ḥurašu ú-ša í-in-ma az-kup. ⁶*Alu* IS-KI-A íkal širi mu-šab *ilu* Ištar an-ḥu-us-su ud-diš. ⁷Í-a bit-su ar-šip ala a-na gi-mir-ti-šu ú-šak-lil.

ASTRONOMICAL REPORTS.

- 1 (III R. 51, No. 5) ¹A-na šarri bíli-ya ²ardu-ka *m ilu* Ištar-[iddin-apla] ³*amílu* rab-u-tí ⁴šá *alu* Arba-ili. ⁵lu-u šul-mu ⁶a-na šarri bíli-ya. ⁷*ilu* Nabu *ilu* Marduk ⁸*ilu* Ištar šá *alu* Arba-ili ⁹a-na šarri bíli-ya ¹⁰lik-ru-bu. ¹¹ina úmi XXIX *kan*. ¹²ma-šar-tu ¹³ni-ta-ša-ar ¹⁴*ilu* Sin la ni-mur. ¹⁵ina araḥ Duzu, úmi II *kan* ¹⁷lim-mu *m* Bíl-šu-nu ¹⁸*amílu* bíl *alu* Ḥi-in-da-na.

- 1 (III R. 51, No. 6 and Del. AL³, p. 122) ¹A-na šarri bíli-ya ²ardu-ka *m ilu* Ištar-iddin-aplu ³*amílu* rab-u-ti ⁴šá *amílu* barí-pl ⁵šá *alu* Arba-ili. ⁶lu-u šul-mu ⁷a-na šarri bíli-ya. ⁸*ilu* Nabu *ilu* Marduk ⁹*ilu* Ištar ša *alu* Arba-ili ¹⁰a-na šarri bíli-ya ¹¹lik-ru-bu ¹²ina úmi XXIX. *kan* ¹³ma-šar-tu ¹⁴ni-ta-ša-ar ¹⁵bi-it ta-mar-ti ¹⁶urpatu. ¹⁸*ilu* Sin la ni-mur ²⁰araḥ Šabaṭu úmi I. *kan* ²¹lim-nu *m* Bíl-ḥarran-šad-u-a.

see a vision of, the night and he announced it to me, saying: 'Ištar, who dwells at Arbela, entered and (on her) right and left she was behung with quivers, she was holding a bow in her hand, she brandished a heavy sword to make war. Thou wast sitting before her. She like the mother who bore (thee) was speaking to thee, (and) talking with thee. Ištar, the exalted one of the gods was appointing thee a message, saying: 'Thou shalt look for making war(?) at the place which lies before thee(?). I am coming.' Thou wast answering her saying: 'Where thou goest I will go with thee, O lady of ladies.' She repeated to thee, saying: 'Thou there(?) verily thou inhabitest the place of the dwelling of Nebo. Eat food, drink wine, appoint rejoicing, exalt my divinity until I go, (and) this mission accomplish.... I will cause thee to accomplish the wish of thy heart. Thy face he shall not harm, thy feet he shall not resist, nor thy rejoicing(?) come to nought' (lit. descend). In the midst of battle she arms thee with the desolation of her goodness, and gives the *butnu* weapon(?) to all who dwell(?) with thee. Before her a fire is blown to capture thy foes.' "

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- 1 "Arbela, ¹the dwelling of Ištar, the fortified(?) house.....²whose wall from ancient time had not existed, its rampart was not complete, its wall I built its rampart I finished (I filled) with *lulī*. The house of Ištar my lady with silver, gold and bronze I made bright as the day. The *šurinni* wood of the gate of the house of Ištar with silver and gold, I made good, I raised up. IŠ-KI-A, the lofty palace, the dwelling of Ištar—its decay I repaired. In her house I built up. I completed the city to its whole extent.

ASTRONOMICAL REPORTS.

- 1 "Unto the king my lord, thy servant Ištariddinpal, the chief of Arbela. May there be peace to the king, my lord. May Nabu, Marduk and Ištar of Arbela to the king my lord be gracious. On the 29th day the watch was kept, the moon was not seen. (Dated) in the month Duzu, 2d day, in the eponym of Bilšunu, prefect of Khindana."
-
- 1 "To the king my lord, thy servant Ištariddinpal, chief of the astronomers of Arbela. May peace be to the king my lord. May Nabu, Marduk (and) Ištar of Arbela to the king my lord be gracious. On the 29th day the watch was kept. In the field of observation was a cloud. The moon was not seen. (Dated) month Šebaṭ, 1st day, eponym of Billsharranšadua."

As appears from the above quotations, the time, during which the Iṣtar of Arbela is known to us historically, is confined to about eighty years, 705-626 B. C. There is no certain reference to her before the reign of Sennacherib, and between that time and the close of Assurbanipal's reign the monuments tell us all they have to say about her. Iṣtar of Arbela appears to us for the first time in Sennacherib's pantheon, but apart from his list of gods, we find no mention of her in his reign. In Esarhaddon we have outside of his list of gods only an oracle coming from her, while most of our knowledge of her comes from the Augustan age of Assurbanipal. We must not, however, infer too much from silence, as it is probable that there had been a shrine of Iṣtar at Arbela long before the days of Sennacherib; at least in Assurbanipal's time he could speak of renewing its decay. The fact, however, that until Sennacherib, Iṣtar of Arbela does not appear in the list of the gods of the royal pantheon, would seem to indicate that until that time or just before it she had not been considered as distinct from the Iṣtar of Nineveh. As we have seen the Iṣtars of Nineveh and Aššur were practically the same in all their characteristics, and it would seem that in early Assyrian history the Iṣtar of Arbela was not sharply distinguished from these; but as Yahweh was worshipped in Israel in the days of the kings at Jerusalem, at Bethel, and at Dan, so Iṣtar was worshipped in Assyria at Aššur, Nineveh, and Arbela. Gradually, however, a distinction grew up, so that the Iṣtars of Nineveh and Arbela were to Sennacherib two distinct divinities, each represented in his pantheon by different designations. Gradually too, different myths grew up around the Iṣtar of Arbela, and as we shall see later the religious conceptions connected with her were of a much more limited character than in the case of the other Iṣtars.

As to the mythological representations connected with this Iṣtar, she is called the daughter of Aššur,* and the sister of Marduk, whereas the Iṣtar of Nineveh was the daughter of Sin, the sister of Šamaš and the wife of Aššur. This change of mythological statement seems to point, for its growth, to the lapse of considerable time after the worship of Iṣtar was established at Arbela. The fact that Iṣtar is here called the daughter of Aššur seems to point: 1, to a comparatively late development of the distinction between this and the other Assyrian Iṣtars, and 2, to a consciousness that the worship of Iṣtar under the restricted conceptions to which she was confined at Arbela, was a peculiarly Assyrian development.

As to the form assumed by the cult of Iṣtar at Arbela we know almost nothing. There was a temple, which as repaired by Assurbanipal was decorated with gold, silver and bronze, and there seems to have been connected with its tower an

* It will be noticed that Iṣtar is also called the daughter of Bil, thus making Bil and Aššur refer to the same deity and giving ground for the statement made, *supra*, § 1.

astronomical observatory from which reports were sent to the king. We do not know how the oracle of this Ištar was conveyed to Esarhaddon, but it was, perhaps, through priests or priestly seers. The passage in her message to Assurbanipal through the seer, which reads, "Eat food, drink wine, appoint rejoicing, exalt my divinity," would seem to imply that there were seers connected with her worship and that her worship still consisted of joyful sacrificial feasts, as we found reason to believe that that of the Ištar of Nineveh did, in the days of Esarhaddon.

Ištar of Arbela was considered "the glorious queen," "the lady of ladies," "the exalted one of the gods," "the resister of onslaught" and "the warriorress of the gods." It would appear from the fact that she is called the daughter of Aššur, but not the wife or beloved of any deity, that she was a virgin goddess as was the Greek Artemis. She would be thought of, then, as a virgin queen who was a goddess of war pure and simple. She is called nowhere, the first born of the gods, or a mother of gods or men, but is an out-and-out war goddess armed with a bow, quiver, and sword, and before whom a fire is blown to devour the enemies of her worshippers. We must not press this point, however, as it is based largely on silence, and even if she were a virgin goddess she might even in that character in a Semitic cult foster unmarried love.

While she is particularly the goddess who gives oracles, she often reveals her will through dreams. She sends a dream to the forces of Assurbanipal when they fear to cross a river, and when he prays for help a seer is sent by means of a dream to convey to him the cheering message of the goddess. This seems to be a favorite method of communication between the supernatural and man in the days of Assurbanipal. Compare the vision of Aššur to Gyges of Lydia, V R. 2. 95 sq.

In their dreams, however, the conception of Ištar was naturally anthropomorphic. The seer sees her talking with Assurbanipal like the mother who bore him, while he sat at her feet.

[To be continued in next Number.]

THE SYRIAC VERSIONS OF THE CATEGORIES OF ARISTOTLE.

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The work of the Syrian scholars in translating and commenting upon the Aristotelean writings is well-known. Their value has also been recognized as the starting-point for the later Arabic-Hebrew-Latin development,¹ and also for the text-criticism of the Greek originals themselves. It was especially the *Organon* which interested these men;² for they were, in the first place, theologians, and the *Organon* forged weapons for their theological dialectics. It also gave a basis for their grammatical studies to which they were led by their desire to accurately fix and understand the word of Scripture. They knew of other writings of Aristotle, real and spurious; but we get only an inkling now and then of their influence in the later literature.³ The knowledge of them died out, as the theological interest grew deeper; but the knowledge of the *Organon* was kept alive through the golden and silver ages of Syriac literature.⁴

It is surprising that what has come down to us of these early translations and commentaries should have lain in the libraries for so long a time without being used. George Hoffmann made an excellent beginning with his edition and criticism of the Syriac *περὶ ἐρμηνείας*.⁵ Fifteen years later D. S. Margoliouth followed with the *ποιητικά*⁶; but he was sorely pressed, as, for the Syriac, he could rely only upon a late compendium of Bar 'Ebhṛāyā.

My own studies in the history of the native Syriac grammarians had led me back to the *κατηγορίαι* of Aristotle; and in 1886, after having copied the Berlin MS., I went to London to copy the MSS. in the British Museum. Since then I have been hoping to find sufficient leisure to work them up in connection with the Greek text. But other literary and academical work, which takes up the best

¹ Cf. Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy*, i, § 95f. Renan, *De philosophica peripatetica apud Syros*, passim.

² Cf. Merx, *Historia artis grammaticae apud Syros*, 1889, p. 3. Gottheil, *A Tract on the Syriac Conjunctions*, HEBRAICA, IV., 187.

³ Cf. in regard to the *Μετεωρολογικά* Gottheil, *Contributions to the History of Geography*, ii, HEBRAICA, VII., pp. 40 sq.

⁴ E. g. Bar Zo'bi, Bazwadh in his *Liber definitionum*, Bar Ebhṛāyā in the logical parts of his "M'nārath Kudhšē," etc.

⁵ *De Hermeneuticis apud Syros Aristoteleis*. Leipzig, 1873 (2).

⁶ *Analecta Orientalia ad Poeticam Aristoteleam*. Londini, 1887, cf. also Diels, *Sitz. Ber. der Preuss. Acad. der Wissen.*, 1888, pp. 49-54. *Archiv für gesch. der Philosophie*, ii, 3, p. 499. *Revue Critique*, 1888, 14, p. 261.

hours of the day, have kept me from carrying out my intention. As the future looks as crowded as the past has been, I must give up hoping, and content myself with laying the texts, as I have found them, before my colleagues. I have instructed one of my students to proceed with the critical part of the work; and I have good reason to feel satisfied that it will be well done.

An Arabic translation of the categories was published many years ago by J. T. Zenker from a well-known Paris MS.⁷ With which Syriac translation it agrees, remains yet to be seen. I have stated elsewhere⁸ that there seem to exist at least four distinct versions of the *Categories* in Syriac.

1. MS. Brit. Mus. add. 14659, fols. 3a-28b.

2. MS. Brit. Mus. add. 14658, fols. 73-91b.

3. MS. Bibliothéque Nat. Ancient Fonds 161, fols. 11b-27b = MS. Vatican 158, fol. 27b sq.

4. MS. Sachau 236, fols. 10a-42b.

In one of Tischendorf's MSS. there is a page of the Categories:⁹ but I know nothing further in regard to it. In a note to p. 834 in his article, "Syriac Literature" (*Encycl. Brit.*), Wright supposes the Vatican MS. to contain the same translation as does Brit. Mus. add. 14658. But this is not so, as a comparison of a couple of pages has shown me.¹⁰

The first version (A) is probably the work of George, Bishop of the Arabs (ordained 686 A. D.), and is taken from MS. Brit. Mus. add. 14659.¹¹ It is unnecessary for me to do more than direct attention to the three excellent treatises of Ryssell,¹² which show the extent and depths of George's knowledge. The volume—written in a large Estrangela of the VIIIth or IXth century—has been sufficiently described by Wright. The MS. has suffered somewhat; and, in some places, is illegible. I have been scrupulous to give only what can be seen. I have not been sparing with question marks; and what I have supplied of my own accord is bracketed. The volume is full of marginal notes, which I have read as best I could.

The chapter division in the Syriac is a little different to our own. I have added the paging of Bekker's edition of the Greek for the sake of easier reference.

⁷ *Aristotelis Categoriae*, etc. Lipsiae, 1848. Cf. Wenrich, *De auctorum graecorum Versionibus*, etc. Lipsiae, 1848, p. 181sq. There is said to be a similar MS. in a Damascus Library. *Athenæum*, 1 Feb., 1890, p. 148.

⁸ *A Syriac Fragment*, HEBRAICA, IV., p. 206.

⁹ *Anecdota Sacra et Profana*. Lipsiae, 1861, p. 68.

¹⁰ Cf. Hoffmann, *De Hermeneuticis*, p. 18: "Itaque iam hinc utriusque versionis auctorem diversum esse perspicitur."

¹¹ Cf. Renan, *Journal Asiatique*, 1852, p. 324. Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 1163.

¹² "Ein Brief Georgs, Bischofs der Araber. Gotha, 1883. *Georgs des Araber-bischofs Gedichte und Briefe*. Leipzig, 1891. *Poemi Striaci di Giorgio vescovo degli Arabi*, Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Roma, 1892.

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 Bekker 2a
 110

^a اڙها اسٽلا منهنجا مڙ ڪم سڙا ڇڏيسين. اڙها مڙ ڪم اڙها. منهنجا
بچ ڪم منهنجا. لا ڪو به مڙ . . . انهن سڀني ۾.

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 Bakker 5a.

a. متعلق ہے؛ دہلیہ لفظ ہے۔ دہلیہ لفظ سے دہلیہ لفظ سے قہر ہے۔
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 c. متعلق ہے؛ دہلیہ لفظ ہے۔ دہلیہ لفظ سے دہلیہ لفظ سے قہر ہے۔
 d. متعلق ہے؛ دہلیہ لفظ ہے۔ دہلیہ لفظ سے دہلیہ لفظ سے قہر ہے۔

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* Read حزب

$\Delta^2 \mid \dots$

12^b ۱۱ مخصیذا سمعنا ۵ مخصیذا.

[illegible]

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e ٢٥ | ١٠ | ٢٥ (sic) [٢٥] .

מלך טחב וכלל מפרז ואי אכל. מלמד א בדאמט. זאחא אפרחא שפחא. חכמ
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 מלמד א יען. ופרז מלדאכז מלמד א. ספרחא ופרז ספרחא. ספחא ופרז ספחא.
 אסחא א יען סח סחמל מפרז* חמ* מפרז אדמסב. חכמ אכלל וסח מרז
 306 אדמסב אסחא. מלדאכז. א אכל^ב וסח אסחא חמ אסחא מלדאכז. חמ
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 אכל אאי אכל. סח סחמל. חמ מפרז מלדאכז. אדמסב יען ספחא. ספחא
 ספחא. סחמל מפרז. שפחא יען טחב וכלל מפרז. סח יען זאחא א
 ולמד א אדכ. טחב מלדאכז. א אדמסב. שפחא חכמ חכמ
 א מלדאכז יען מלדאכז שפחא ואלאכז מלדאכז + א יען ספחא חכמ
 חכמ (fol. 12b) וכלל מפרז. ואי אכל. מלדאכז שפחא חכמא. ס
 ח סח מלדאכז מלדאכז וכלל מפרז אדמסב. ספרחא חכמא. חמ^ד יען
 חכמ וכלל מפרז. אדמסב חכמא. אכל יען. סח מפרז אדמסב חכמא. סח
 חכמא אכל. סח מלדאכז מלדאכז יען. סח חפרז + .

316 יען. מלדאכז יען אדמסב. מלדאכז מלדאכז וכלל מפרז. סח יען
 ופרז סח אכל. אדמסב מלדאכז. סח חכמ מלדאכז חמ מפרז אדמסב.

* Should come before מפרז .

א חכמ וכלל מפרז מלדאכז .

^ב מלדאכז אכל. . . . חכמא חכמא וכלל .

סח יען אדמסב שפחא. א מלדאכז מלדאכז וכלל מפרז חכמא חכמ

ולמד. סח מלדאכז חכמא וכלל. חכמא [אכל] יען אכל. ופרז מלדאכז מפרז מלדאכז

סח מלדאכז אכל וכלל מלדאכז חכמא חכמא.

^ד חכמא וכלל מלדאכז. סח מלדאכז.

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נֶאֱמַר בְּלֹא מִלֵּף + עֲשֵׂה, מֵעַם הַיָּם. וְאִם תִּכְלֶה בְּכֶל מִצְוַת שִׁבְעִים
 וְחֻמֵּי הַיָּם, תֵּן מִן הַיָּם, וְאִם תִּכְלֶה בְּשִׁבְעִים וְחֻמֵּי הַיָּם
 מִדְּאֵנִי: אִם אֵלֶּה תִּשְׁמַע אֲנִי מִלֵּף הַיָּם, וְאִם אֵלֶּה תִּשְׁמַע
 590 וְאִם תִּשְׁמַע אֲנִי מִדְּאֵנִי אֵלֶּה. וְאִם תִּכְלֶה בְּכֶל מִצְוַת
 שִׁבְעִים וְחֻמֵּי הַיָּם, מִדְּאֵנִי תֵּן מִן הַיָּם, וְאִם תִּכְלֶה בְּשִׁבְעִים
 וְחֻמֵּי הַיָּם, תֵּן מִן הַיָּם. כֹּל מִצְוַת הַיָּם, וְחֻמֵּי הַיָּם
 מִדְּאֵנִי. חֲמִשָּׁה מִדְּאֵנִי מִשְׁבָּעִים חֲמִשָּׁה. וְאִם תִּכְלֶה בְּכֶל
 שִׁבְעִים. אִם אֵלֶּה תִּשְׁמַע, כֹּל מִצְוַת מִדְּאֵנִי * תִּכְלֶה בְּכֶל שִׁבְעִים
 תֵּן (sic) מִן הַיָּם, וְאִם תִּכְלֶה בְּשִׁבְעִים וְחֻמֵּי הַיָּם, שִׁבְעִים
 וְחֻמֵּי הַיָּם בְּלֹא מִלֵּף תֵּן מִן הַיָּם, וְאִם תִּכְלֶה בְּכֶל מִצְוַת
 וְאִם תִּכְלֶה בְּכֶל מִצְוַת הַיָּם (fol. 21b) תִּכְלֶה בְּשִׁבְעִים
 בְּחֻמֵּי הַיָּם + עֲשֵׂה, מֵעַם הַיָּם. וְאִם תִּכְלֶה בְּכֶל מִצְוַת
 600 Bekker 12a. אֲנִי תִּכְלֶה בְּשִׁבְעִים חֲמִשָּׁה: אִם תִּכְלֶה בְּשִׁבְעִים
 חֲמִשָּׁה וְאִם תִּכְלֶה בְּשִׁבְעִים חֲמִשָּׁה, מִצְוַת הַיָּם, וְאִם תִּכְלֶה בְּכֶל
 אֵלֶּה וְאִם תִּכְלֶה בְּשִׁבְעִים חֲמִשָּׁה, מִצְוַת הַיָּם, וְאִם תִּכְלֶה בְּכֶל מִצְוַת
 אֵלֶּה. מִדְּאֵנִי מִשְׁבָּעִים חֲמִשָּׁה, מִצְוַת הַיָּם, וְאִם תִּכְלֶה בְּכֶל מִצְוַת

* מִשְׁבָּעִים חֲמִשָּׁה מִצְוַת הַיָּם (?) מִשְׁבָּעִים חֲמִשָּׁה, מִצְוַת הַיָּם

מִשְׁבָּעִים חֲמִשָּׁה.

b מִשְׁבָּעִים

[illegible]

735
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 745

[illegible]

Bekker 14b. 745

b حصر ۱.

A CRITICAL COPY OF THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH WRITTEN IN A. D. 1232.

BY REV. W: SCOTT WATSON, A. M.,
Towerhill (Guttenberg P. O.), N. J.

I write to give the readers of *HEBRAICA* some account of a biblical codex which I had the good fortune to secure in Palestine and of which one of our leading Hebrew scholars, in a note to me, says, "In any future edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch it will be essential, provided its text is as accurate as its well assured age leads one to suppose." I will group my notes under the four general heads of History, Description, Critical Copy and Collation.

I. HISTORY.

While in Jerusalem last year I heard of an old Samaritan book having been there offered for sale but I did not succeed in seeing it. A little later, on May 12, 1892, I was asked in Nablous whether I would like to buy a certain manuscript. From the description given of it I was led to believe that it was of considerable value. When I requested that it be shown, the man replied that he thought it was then in Jerusalem. Was I again to be disappointed? For months I had been tantalized at Sidon by a book said to be written on the skin of the gazelle of whose existence I heard more than once but of which I never got a sight. My questioner went in search of the owner and soon returned with him and his manuscript. He laid open the volume on his lap and there was revealed to my delighted gaze a literary treasure the equal of which I never had had a chance to purchase during all my sojourn in Syria. I took steps to secure it, acting in accordance with oriental business custom through a mediator, and after a delay, another oriental element in the transaction, it was delivered into my hands at Sidon the very day before I started on my homeward journey. The man from whom I bought it was a Moslem living in Nablous. The account he gave of the way it came into his possession was that he had purchased the effects of an aged Samaritan who had died not long before and among them had found this Book of the Law. The statement was corroborated by other inhabitants of Nablous; indeed, the deceased seemed to be a person well known in the town.

Page 1 bears the name in Arabic of "Ephraim, the son of Rizq, the Samaritan," who possessed it after the rebinding, but no date is given.

We next come to three notes of ownership in the Samaritan dialect as well as character. They are found on the portion of a page which had been left blank at the end respectively of Numbers (p. 481), Exodus (p. 260), and Genesis (p. 136), and are as follows :

(b) אתעתקת זאת התורה הקדושה מן ממלאכת (2) סהבה
טבה וס; קה; וס; קה; וא; טוב וק; וצ; והס; (3) וס; צדקה בנ;
סה; טב; וס; קה; וא; קה; ומס; (4) אברהם בנ; סה; טב; וס;
קה; וא; (5) קה; ומסכני; עבד יהובה דמבני איקרה אל ממלכת
סה; (6) וסמ; קה; ואר; קה; וא; טו; וק; וצ; ו*; ו*; ושאר (7)
(7) קד; וי; ומעב; יוספ בנ סמ; קה; וצ; אברהם (8) בנ סמ; קה;
ומ; צדקה דמבני י*ב* מן שכו (9) עזה בשלשה עשר דנר
זהב מצורים [* * * * (10) צדקה הזכור אנ לית לו בזאת
התורה קשט (11) תהי] בריכה על בעלה הז; וילמד [בה]
בננימ [וב] (12) בנימ וכן בשנת שבע ועשרים שנה ותשע
מאות שנת (13) [לממלכת ישמעל יי*א * * * * וכן אסיר ע * * * *

(14) ***ר (or ב) מה • וכתבו • יעק* • בנ • עבד • אלה • (15) *** מבי • משב
 1 *** ; ל***

(c) אתעתקת • זאת • התורה • הקדושה • מנ • ממלכת • תורין • (2)
 ואחותה מרחבה • ילידי • סמוכ • קהלה • וארכונ • (3) קהלה • וק • וצלה •
 ומסכנה • עבד • דנונה • בנ • (4) סמוכה • ומסכנה • אב • גלוגר • בנ • אבי •
 רוממותה • (5) דמבני • איקרה • והיא • מורשה • לונ • מנ • אביונ • (6)
 הזוכיר • יסלח • לו • יה • אל • ממלכות • סמוכ • קהלה • (7) וארכונ •
 קהלה • וקרא • וצלה • וחש • וכת • עבד • יהוה • (8) בנ • סמוכה •
 ומסכנה • עבד • יהובה • דמבני • רמח • (9) בארבע • ושלישי² • דנר •
 זהב • מנ • זהב • מצרים • וכנ • (10) בחדש • שואל • שנת • ז • וששימי •
 ושמנה • מאות • (11) לממלכת • בני • ישמעל • על • יד • עברה • צרקה • בנ •
 יושע • (12) הלוי • שמש • המכתבים • הקדושים • אז • במצרים • (13) הוריא •
 את • יה • תהיה • מברכה • עליו • אמנ • אמנ • (14) בעמל • משה • הנאמנ • —

The three dates mentioned in these records (Maharram, A. H. 998 in (a), A. H. 927 in (b) and Showal, A. H. 867 in (c)) correspond to A. D. 1589, A. D. 1521 and A. D. 1463.

Who was the scribe to whose labors we are indebted for this copy of the Law of Moses? The repairer's colophon says it is in the hand-writing of "Abraham, Judge of Israel," but gives neither the date nor the genealogical relation of that person. It was doubtful how much reliance could be placed on so recent a statement unsupported by other authority, but for a time I thought it was the most trustworthy information in regard to the writer that we would ever have.

While engaged in collating, I came across a cryptogram and that has been followed by the discovery of six others. Two of them bear on the question now before us. On p. 182, in the text of Ex. xv. 22-xvi. 3, we read, מכתב אברהם "The writing of Abraham the Prince," and running through the first sixteen pages of Deuteronomy (pp. 462-477 inclusive) is the following:

אני אברהם בן ישראל בן אפרים בן יוסף הנשיא מלך ישראל
 כתבתי את משנה התורה הקדושה הזאת לנפשי על שם בני שנת
 תשע ועשרים ושש מאות למלכות ישמעאל היא שנת שלשה אלפים
 ומאתים למושב בני ישראל בארץ כנען היא שנת חמשה אלפים ותשע
 מאות ושלשה ותשעים שנה ליצרת העולם והיא מלוי ארבעה

¹ The letters inclosed in brackets doubtless once stood in the text. Asterisks have been placed where there is no certain clew to what has disappeared, their number except in lines 9, 14 and 15 corresponding with the probable number of letters lost. In the rebinding of the volume the lower right part of this record beginning with a portion of line 13 was cut away. There was at least a sixteenth line of which only א. ז. is visible.

² The four middle letters of ושלשים have been erased, changing the price from thirty-four to forty-four dinars.

ושבעים תורה כתבתי יומי שני ח"י בפעם ההוא ששים שנה אורה את
יהוה ואשאל אתו יאריך בחייהם עד ילמדו בה בנים ובני בנים
אמן אמן אמן

"I, Abraham, the son of Israel, the son of Ephraim, the son of Joseph, the Prince, King of Israel, wrote the copy of this holy Torah for myself in the name of my children in the year six hundred and twenty-nine of the kingdom of Ishmael, which [it] is the year three thousand and two hundred of the dwelling of the children of Israel in the land of Canaan and [it] the year five thousand and nine hundred and ninety-three of the formation of the world.¹—And it is the completion of seventy-four Torahs² [which] I wrote and the days of the years of my life in the tread of it are sixty years; I praise Yhvh.—And I ask him to prolong their lives until children and children's children study in it. Amen. Amen. Amen." (The punctuation marks have been omitted from both transcriptions.)

I am well aware that cryptograms are rather in disrepute at present and that the very mention of one is apt to raise a smile. Those now under consideration are real and not a mere product of my imagination. The parchment was creased by folding to furnish a guide in the formation of two which are on the opposite sides of the same leaf (pp. 275, 276) and for three, including the longest given above, special lines were ruled. (In the case of two no special ruling was necessary because of lines on the other side of the leaf.) One cryptogram is circular, reading curiously from *left* to *right*, and the others are vertical. Where the latter occur, the pages present the appearance of three columns, two lateral of equal size separated by narrow spaces from a central one of single letters. Those letters, read from the top down, form the acrostics. Not a word has been added to the sacred text on their account, the end being attained simply by the arrangement of the writing on the page. Punctuation marks, however, have been inserted which have no meaning apart from them and one of which, because of that fact, led to my discovery. Thus it is evident that the scribe was fully aware of the existence of those statements and intentionally formed them.

It might be supposed that this manuscript was copied from another in which the chronogram already existed and that therefore the data given relate not to this document but to that of which it is a transcription. Such a thing, it is said, has happened in the case of colophons; here it has not. Old Abraham's very

¹ The number of years between the Creation and the Entrance into Canaan according to the data in the Samaritan Pentateuch and the direct statement of the Samaritan Chronicle or Book of Joshua (chap. xv.) is, as here, 2794. The Chronicle (chap. XLVII.) departs from the common Samaritan chronology in assigning A. M. 4513 as the date of the death of the Emperor Hadrian.

² I need scarcely point out that of all the copies of the Law produced by Samaritan scribes in the past centuries not nearly so many have survived to our time as Abraham himself wrote.

mistakes come forward to testify in his favor and to secure to him the credit of his work long after he has laid aside his pen. An examination of the erasures that are found in the volume shows that the writer in a large measure puzzled out or stumbled on his caligraphic arrangement as he went along. Perhaps the most striking instance is found on p. 280. Part of the sixth line of the paragraph (Ex. xxxi. 12-17) in which the circular cryptogram **אשר לאשר ישמר** (**קדשה**) occurs had been written when the suggestion of that device came; then the scribe erased all from the latter part of the first line and re-wrote it in a way to bring that out. (Sufficient traces of the first text remain to prove that it was the same as the present.) If this instance stood alone, it might be said that the writer had at this point changed his exemplar for one in which the conceit already existed. In four other places, three of them in connection with the long chronogram, changes have been made which the production of the cryptograms rendered necessary but which might have been avoided by a little more foresight. It would seem that nothing so pleased the Samaritan scribe as to be able to place one or more letters or words under similar letters in the preceding line. There are quite a number of places scattered throughout the book in which something has been erased and the same re-written where the reason for the alteration evidently was that immediately after the first writing it had occurred to Scribe Abraham that by making the change he could carry out further that dearly-loved caligraphic principle. Thus there is conclusive proof that this is not a fac simile copy of any other codex. (If the manuscript which the writer had before him during his work be still in existence, I may perhaps identify it through certain phenomena which possibly indicate the length of its lines and paragraphs and the position of some words on the page.)

Reverting to the longest cryptogram, we find the date of this codex given according to three eras. The one most useful to us at present is that referred to "the kingdom of Ishmael" or the Hegira. Remembering that, as the Moslems employ a lunar year of twelve months of alternately twenty-nine and thirty days with an intercalary day eleven times in thirty years, their years are to ours as $354\frac{1}{2}$ to $365\frac{1}{4}$, and starting from July 16, A. D. 622, we see that the year 629 of the Hegira ended on, or about, Oct. 19, A. D. 1232. As the chronogram is now exactly as the writer of the volume left it, the possibility of later addition or subtraction being absolutely excluded, we may with entire confidence attribute this manuscript to the year A. D. 1232.

The oldest dated manuscript of the Samaritan Pentateuch mentioned by Blayney was written in A. H. 624 = A. D. 1227 and is in Rome. The next dated copy in point of age, not including mine, is that of the British Museum written in A. D. 1356, one hundred and twenty-four years after the one I am now describing. As the codex of A. D. 1227 begins with Gen. xxxiv. 22, the one in my possession is probably the oldest authority extant of a known date for about

thirty chapters of the Samaritan form of Genesis. (There are a few manuscripts of more or less of the Samaritan Pentateuch which are *supposed* to be older than the three mentioned. It is well known among scholars who have given this department of study special attention that Samaritan paleography is not in a state sufficiently advanced to admit of even the best qualified judges asserting with confidence the age of a document which bears no date.)

II. DESCRIPTION.

The manuscript contains the Hebrew text, not the Targum or Version, of the Five Books of Moses in the form in which the Samaritans have them. It is bound in leather and consists of two leaves of paper + two hundred and sixty-nine leaves of parchment + four leaves of paper, a total of five hundred and fifty pages. The leaves are now about $12\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size but were cut down somewhat in the rebinding. They are without numbers (except those added by myself), signatures and catch-words. Those of paper were supplied by the writer of the Arabic colophon but all of the parchment portion belonged to the volume whose origin is recorded in the chronogram: it is to the latter alone that I desire to be understood as referring in the notes which follow, unless I state otherwise. When Abraham finished the codex, I believe it contained two hundred and eighty leaves gathered into twenty-four quires of ten leaves each and five of eight each arranged thus: 20 of $10 + 1$ of $8 + 3$ of $10 + 2$ of $8 + 1$ of $10 + 2$ of 8. Either the first two pages (the first leaf) bore none of the sacred text or some of that of Genesis now found only on paper was much spread out. As a rule a single sheet of parchment makes two leaves or four pages, but there are twenty-four half-sheets distributed through eleven of the quires. The sheets were so bound together that at every opening the eye rests on two pages of flesh-sides or two of hair-sides. Of all the gatherings the outside pages are hair-sides and, consequently, the middle pages are flesh-sides in groups of ten leaves and hair-sides in those of eight.

The old text covers a space about $8\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ inches on both sides of the leaf. It begins with ' אַתָּה ' יְיָ עֶפְרָיִם of Gen. III. 19 and ends with ' יִשְׁמַע ' בְּקוֹלֵי ' of Deut. xxx. 20; between these limits, with the exception of one leaf lost from Genesis, scarcely a letter of the first scribe's work is past recovery, so fine a state of preservation is the manuscript in. There are from twenty-six to twenty-nine lines to the page, including the blank lines between paragraphs, but both the extremes are of rare occurrence. The large Samaritan character is used throughout except where for a special reason a letter or a word is written in a smaller hand. The ink is of a deep black generally laid on so thick that the letters have a somewhat glossy surface. It does not seem to have faded in the slightest merely from the lapse of the centuries where other extraneous causes of injury did not affect it, nor has it at all corroded the parchment, in both of which

respects it differs from that of some of the more recent writing found in the volume. Lines were made by pressure, never in ink, to guide the scribe in his work.

Of the cryptograms three have already been given. The other four are as follows: (a) יהוה נצוּעִי קרְבִּיה on p. 179 in Ex. xiv. 24-29 which is part of the two paragraphs xiv. 19-25 and 26-31; (b) חֲצִי הַתּוֹרָה on p. 275 in Lev. vii. 12-16, part of the paragraphs vii. 11-15 and 16-21; (c) פִּלְגָּה on p. 276 in Lev. vii. 18, 19, of the paragraph vii. 16-21; and (d) סֵפֶר תּוֹרָאתָה אַהֵן on p. 340 in Lev. xxvii. 18-25 of the paragraphs xxvii. 16-21 and 22-25. The two (b) and (c) are separated by the last three lines of p. 275 and the first line of p. 276 which are written in the ordinary manner. (I have omitted the punctuation marks in making these transcriptions.)

For poetry the text-space is divided into two equal columns but the lines read across the page regardless of the division. The passages which are so written are these: Ex. xv. 1-21; Num. xxiii. 7-10, 18-24; xxiv. 3-8, 15-25, and (in the paper portion) Deut. xxxii. 1-43. No distinction is made between the introductory formulae and the body of the poems. Gen. xlix. (parchment) and Deut. xxxiii. (paper) appear as ordinary prose.

Besides the places where the simplest order of disposing the letters has been departed from for ordinary caligraphic reasons or because of the cryptograms or the poetical portions we find a peculiar but similar arrangement in the upper part of p. 455 and of p. 457. In the body of the text a space has been left blank which may be described as a circular ring with four straight arms extending outwards one to each corner of the (imaginary) inclosing parallelogram. The passages directly affected are Num. xxxiv. 6-11 and xxxv. 5-8.

At the end of each of the five books are some simple ornamentation and also the following notes, all from the first hand, except, of course, that at the end of Deuteronomy from the repairer:

(a) At the end of Genesis,

סֵפֶר הָרְאִישׁוֹן וּמְלִינִי יִצְחָק אֵלֶּפֶינִי
קִצְיִנִי רֵי : וְנֵי וְרֵי : וְחֵי נֵי : מְלִינִי :
וּכְתַבְנִי טֵי : וְעֵי : אֵלֶּפֶינִי וְחֵק : וִי :

(b) At the end of Exodus,

סֵפֶר הַשְּׁנִי וּמְלִינִי יִצְחָק אֵלֶּפֶינִי
קִצְיִנִי רֵי : וְרֵי : וְלֵי : מְלֵה :
וּכְתַבְנִי טֹוֶם : אֵלֶּפֶינִי וְחֵי : וְעֵי :

(c) At the end of Leviticus,

סֵפֶר הַשְּׁלִישִׁי וּמְלִינִי יִצְחָק אֵלֶּפֶינִי
קִצְיִנִי קֵי : וְלֵי : וְחֵי : וְשֵׁי : וְלֵי : מְלֵה :
וּכְתַבְנִי וֶמֶם : אֵלֶּפֶינִי וְחֵק : וְנֵי : :

(d) At the end of Numbers,

ספר · הרביעי ·
מלינ · י״ז ; אלפינ ·
קצינ · ר ; וך ;
וכתבינ · ׁם ; אלפינ · וך ; וי ; :— :

(e) At the end of Deuteronomy (the division into lines found in the original not being preserved),

תורה · תמימה · ברוך · יהוה · נותינה :

ספר · החמישי · קצימ · ק : וס :

ומלינ · ד · י · אלפינ : ות · ד · וך :

כל · מליאנ · קצי · התורה : תשע · מאות · וששה · ושישימ · קצה : ומלינ :
ששה · ושמינ · אלפ · ושלש · מאות · ושנימ · ושישימ · מלא : יתברכ ·
יהוה : 10 :

סחוניכ · סחוני · עד · נ :

משקי · החיים · מגנ · עד · נ :¹

III. CRITICAL COPY.

I have been impressed with the fact that Abraham was a most careful and conscientious scribe. He seems to have performed his work with a sense of its importance and a knowledge that it was his duty not to invent a new text but only to transmit the best that had come to him. In some instances he found himself unable to decide between two different readings and therefore gave one at length and indicated the other. I say "indicated" because in only one instance are both readings actually given. On p. 73, in Gen. xxx. 37, וחרמון is written with an ordinary full-sized ח but interlineated above that letter is a small ע; both letters are from the first hand in exactly the same ink and look as though made at the same time. The text of Blayney has ע but the manuscript numbered 62 has ח. In other places the second reading is indicated by dots and lines.

¹ Let me tabulate the figures given in these statements.

	Sections.	Words.	Letters.
Genesis.....	250	27,258	79,810
Exodus.....	200	17,230	69,098
Leviticus.....	135	10,330	46,550
Numbers.....	220	17,120	67,110
Deuteronomy.....	180	14,424	—
Whole Pentateuch.....	965	86,362	—

It will be noticed that the addition of the separate items would give 965 as the number of sections in the whole Law.

A very common use of marks in Samaritan manuscripts is to call attention to the fact that a certain combination of letters is used in a particular one of two or more senses which it is capable of bearing, e. g., שׁ when a proper noun denoting Shem, the son of Noah, is marked but when the common noun "name" is not marked, and אַת, alone or in combination, when the preposition "with" may have a line over it but when the sign of the definite object is without any line (except in אַתָּה, where it is lined to distinguish that word from the personal pronoun of similar form). Many of the lines and dots in my copy are explained by a knowledge of this usage. For words so distinguished the different manuscripts in very few, if any, instances give various readings.

There are a number of other lines and dots which cannot be explained on the principle just stated but which must be considered as true indications of alternate readings. Petermann, in his Samaritan Grammar ("Porta Linguarum Orientalium" series), says, "*Signa orthographica duo tantum apud Samaritanos reperiuntur: 1. Punctum litteris expungendis, quae per errorem scribae irrepserunt, superscribitur. 2. Linea diacritica, eaque plana (horizontalis) s. paululum obliqua litteris vocum praesertim mediis superposita, quae lectorem admoneat, ut animum bene attendat ad hanc vocem, quae notionem seu formam extraordinariam habet.*" (The first of the usages mentioned in this extract is found in the work of the repairer of my manuscript but not in that of Abraham.) In spite of the "duo tantum" I must add this third. A list of the places where it occurs will be found in the collation. A study of the facts there presented should of itself be sufficient to produce the conviction that we have before us indications of secondary readings.

These signs do not belong to the class already described. In the case of the words over which they are placed there generally did not exist the same need of a distinguishing mark that was present in the case of the words over which those are found. In striking contrast to the fact in regard to those, there is in the case of every one of these manuscript authority for various readings. (In a very few instances that authority must be sought in another passage which contains the same word.) Simple admonitory marks are always, as far as my experience goes, placed over some part of the word to which attention is called and never over the blank space between it and the preceding or the following word, as are some of the signs referred to in Table VII. of the collation.

When Scribe Abraham was desirous of changing what had come from his pen, he showed no hesitancy in erasing it, either by washing it out or by scratching it out with a sharp instrument. Many such erasures, most of them, however, due to a desire to change only the relative position of some letters on the page, can with certainty be attributed to him through the present text found where the original writing stood being from his hand. The expunging of letters from the words in Tables III., V. and VII. would often produce combinations which

would not be Hebrew. When in the three classes just mentioned the mark is over the space between two letters or two words, the reader sees clearly where the additional letter of the secondary reading belongs but such a position would not with equal certainty show what to omit. Nor have we before us the correction of accidental omissions. A letter which had fallen out through some mischance might have been subsequently inserted either in its proper place in the line or interlinearly. That interlineation was not objectionable in the eyes of the writer is shown by his resorting to it in not a few places and we can see no reason why, if necessary, he should not have doubled or quadrupled the number. What effect would follow the insertion of letters in the words of Tables IV. and VI.? We would fare no better were we to attempt to interpret these signs as calling for the substitution of what properly belongs in the text for something that has erroneously crept in. They are not the marks of a corrector who compared the manuscript after its completion with some standard copy. They were made at the same time as the letters as is shown by their being in the same ink and hand and by the unusual space left blank in connection with some. It is evident that they and the readings which they indicate were in the mind of the scribe at the first writing.

As an instructive illustration of deliberate variety let us look at the name *Zurishaddai*. In Num. vii. 36 it ends in a ' and in x. 19 in a ך, with no mark over the word in either place, but in i. 6 we find a final ך and in ii. 12 and vii. 41 a final ', all three with a dot over them. Evidently *Zurishaddai* might in the writer's view be properly spelled either with a final ך or with a final '. He knew of authority for both forms in some of these passages; he has written at length the one that in his judgment was the better supported and has indicated the other.

DAS HEBRÄISCHE NEUE TESTAMENT VON FRANZ DELITZSCH.

VON REV. DR. GUSTAF DALMAN.

Leipzig.

Da die von der 'London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews' im Jahr 1817 veröffentlichte und später öfters revidierte hebr. Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments in sprachlicher Beziehung an Korrectheit vieles zu wünschen übrig liess, hatte Franz Delitzsch schon 1838 in "Wissenschaft, Kunst, Judenthum" zu einer neuen Übersetzung aufgefordert. Aber erst im Jahr 1864 war das Werk wirklich in Gang gekommen, wie aus einem Aufrufe Delitzsch's in seiner Zeitschrift "Saat auf Hoffnung," Weihnachten 1864, hervorgeht. Schon im Juni 1865 war die Übersetzung vom Matthäus, Jacobus- und Hebräerbrief und Apocalypse vorläufig vollendet (S. a. H., III. 1, 61). Erst im Sommer 1870 erschien aber als erste Probe die Übersetzung des Römerbriefes mit rabbinischem Kommentar unter Beigabe einer Kritik der bisherigen Leistungen und von Erklärungen über die bei dem neuen Unternehmen zu Grunde gelegten Principien. Gleichzeitig kündigte Delitzsch an, (S. a. H., VIII. 75), dass er Neigung habe, nun den Matthäus zu "bearbeiten," d. h. entgeltig zu redigieren. Im Mai 1874 konnte er mitteilen (S. a. H., XI. 129), dass die Übersetzung des ganzen Neuen Testaments druckfertig vorliege. Einige jüdische Freunde Delitzsch's, welche durch die Munificenz der Gesellschaften für Judenmission in Baiern und Norwegen für ihre Bemühungen entschädigt werden konnten, hatten durch Einsendung von Übersetzungsvorschlägen zu diesem Werke wichtige Beiträge geliefert. Nach mehrfachen vergeblichen Bemühungen bei verschiedenen Verlegern gelang es endlich im Sommer 1875 die British and Foreign Biblé Society zur Übernahme des Verlages zu gewinnen, sodass im September 1875 der Satz beginnen konnte (S. a. H., XIV. 80 ff.). Im Frühjahr 1877 war das Werk vollendet (S. a. H., XIV. 242 ff.). Indes begann damit nur die neue schwierige Arbeit der Revision und Selbstkritik. Männer wie Prof. Levy in Breslau, Prof. Kaufmann in Budapest, Prof. Kautzsch in Basel, Dr. Biesen-thal in Leipzig, besonders aber Missionar Händler in Krakau machten Verbesserungsvorschläge. Delitzsch selbst war zu der Überzeugung gekommen, dass der von ihm ursprünglich der Übersetzung zu Grunde gelegte Text des Sinai-Codex sich für diesen Zweck nicht eigne und hatte sich entschlossen, dem Wunsche der Bibelgesellschaft entsprechend den Textus receptus zu adoptieren und nur die wichtigsten Abweichungen des Sinai-Codex von demselben in Klammern beizufügen (S. a. H., XV. 222 ff.). Im Spätherbst 1878 erschien die auf dieser neuen

Grundlage beruhende zweite Auflage (S. a. H., XVI. 55 ff.), im Februar 1880 die dritte (S. a. H., VII. 166 f.), im Herbst 1881 die vierte (S. a. H., XVIII. 201 f.), bei der Dr. Baer in Biebrich und Prof. Driver in Oxford wichtige Dienste leisteten. Der Text dieser vierten Ausgabe wurde electrotypiert und ist dann in den Ausgaben von 1883, 1885, 1886, 1888, 1889 mit nur unbedeutenden Veränderungen wiederholt worden. In einer englisch abgefassten Schrift "The Hebrew New Testament," Leipzig 1883, hatte Delitzsch eine Reihe notwendiger Verbesserungen aufgeführt, welche indes nur teilweise in die stereotypierte Ausgabe Aufnahme fanden, aber voll berücksichtigt wurden bei der neu gesetzten Ausgabe in Octavo vom Jahr 1885, welche also bis zu der soeben erschienenen 11ten Auflage die fortgeschrittenste Textgestalt darstellt. Seit jener Zeit hatte Delitzsch sich besonders in Folge der Verbesserungsvorschläge der jüdischen Gelehrten J. Kahan und J. Lichtenstein in Leipzig, A. B. Ehrlich in New York von der Notwendigkeit einer durchgreifenden Umarbeitung seines Werkes überzeugt. Trotz zunehmender Körperschwäche vollzog er deshalb eine erneute Revision, so umfänglich, dass er den jetzt entstehenden Text als eine neue Übersetzung bezeichnen konnte. Die Durcharbeitung des ganzen Neuen Testaments war vorläufig vollendet, als eine Lähmung den 76jährigen Greis nötigte, die Feder aus der Hand zu legen und die Vollendung des Werkes jüngeren Händen anzuvertrauen. In den ersten Tagen des Februar 1890 übergab er die Arbeit dem Verfasser dieses Aufsatzes, der seit fast 20 Jahren durch gemeinsames Interesse für die Evangelisierung der Juden ihm verbunden war, hoffte aber, sie noch selbst bis zur Vollendung überwachen zu können. Indess Gott der Herr holte den müden Streiter heim, nachdem nur der erste Halbbogen dem Sterbenden hatte in die Hand gegeben werden können. Die Durchsicht dieses Halbbogens war die letzte Arbeit, die dem greisen Freunde hienieden vergönnt war, an dem Werke, das ihn 25 Jahre lang* fast ununterbrochen beschäftigt hatte.

Die mir als Herausgeber erwachsende Arbeit, bei der ich dem Wunsche Delitzsch's entsprechend von dem jüdischen Gelehrten J. Kahan unterstützt wurde, bestand 1) in der Vollendung der Revision der Übersetzung auf Grund des von Delitzsch gesammelten Materials mit möglichst genauer Anpassung an die ihn leitenden Principien, 2) in der Herstellung einer Vorlage für den Neudruck, und 3) in der Überwachung des Druckes. Anfang August 1891 war das Werk vollendet, im Februar 1892 konnte die neue elfte Auflage gebunden an die Öffentlichkeit treten.

Der der neuen Auflage zu Grunde gelegte *Text* unterscheidet sich dadurch vom Text der früheren Ausgaben, dass der *Textus receptus* im Princip aufgegeben wurde und die wichtigsten besseren Lesarten der alten *Codices* im Text selbst Aufnahme fanden, während die minderwertigen Lesarten des *Receptus*, wenn sie Zusätze zum ursprünglichen Text darstellten, in Klammern im Texte blieben, da-

* Die nach Delitzschs Tod erschienene Schrift "Eine Uebersetzungsarbeit von 52 Jahren," welche einige früher schon gedruckte Äußerungen von Delitzsch über sein hebr. Neues Testament mitteilt, rechnet übertreibend von 1838 an, obwohl zwischen 1838 und 1864 die Arbeit ruhte.

gegen, wenn sie eigentliche Varianten desselben waren, als Noten an den Fuss der Seite gestellt wurden. Dadurch wurde geringere Störung des Lesers durch im Text stehende *alternative readings* erzielt. Prof. Delitzsch hatte eine durchgreifende Revision des Textes in dieser Richtung für notwendig erklärt und mir übertragen, dieselbe wurde aber durch das Veto der Bibelgesellschaft verhindert. Leider fehlt deshalb dem gegenwärtigen Text in dieser Beziehung volle Einheitlichkeit. Im wesentlichen ist es nur der bisher schon in den Ausgaben vorhandene kritische Apparat, den ich revidiert und nach den soeben mitgeteilten Principien umgestaltet habe. An dieser Stelle bemerke ich, dass ich die Überschrift der Apocalypse, aus welcher Delitzsch gerade in der letzten von ihm besorgten Ausgabe des hebr. Neuen Testaments den Namen des Johannes gestrichen hatte, in seiner handschriftlich bezeugten Urgestalt wiederhergestellt habe. Da der sel. Delitzsch durch seine Änderung nur den scheinbaren Widerspruch zwischen der Überschrift und dem Anfang des Buches (Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) beseitigen wollte, zweifle ich nicht, dass er bei erneuter Überlegung mir zugestimmt haben würde. Beigabe von *sachlichen* Noten, welche Missverständnissen bei jüdischen Lesern vorbeugen sollten, hatte Delitzsch eine Zeitlang geplant, aber in seiner letzten Bemerkung über die Herstellung der neuen Auflage (S. a. H., XXVII. 74), welche erst nach seinem Tode erschien, aufgegeben.

Für die *Orthographie* des Hebräischen galten mir die Ausgaben des Alttestamentlichen Textes von Baer als massgebend. Manche Wortgestalt, besonders in bezug auf Plene- und Defectiv-Schreibung der Vocale, ist nur zufällig. Doch sollte das Auge des vom Alten Testament herkommenden Lesers nicht durch ungewohnte Schreibung verletzt werden. Der Cholempunkt wurde allenthalben an die ihm bei װ und ן zukommende Stelle gesetzt. Ich bemerke leider, dass ich Matth. I. 21 eine falsche Stellung derselben bei ן übersehen habe. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit forderte die Dagessierung der כַּנְדִּיכַּת nach trennenden Accenten und die Pausaldehnung in der Mitte des Verses, welche nach der Correctur des Textes aufs neue durchzuführen waren. Es mag zweifelhaft scheinen, ob eine derartige Durchführung der Gesetze der Accentuation—ohne Schreibung der Accentzeichen—berechtigt sei. Aber weder schien es geraten, Dagessierung am Anfange eines Wortes nur nach vorangehendem Konsonanten anzuwenden und auf Sinnabschnitte keine Rücksicht zu nehmen, noch auch, wenn einmal die Dagessierung weiter ausgedehnt werden sollte, vom Gebrauch des Alten Testaments abzuweichen.

Der weitaus schwierigste Teil meiner Aufgabe lag selbstverständlich auf dem Gebiete der *Sprache*. Delitzsch hatte es als sein Princip bezeichnet, den Text so wiederzugeben, wie die neutestamentlichen Schriftsteller ihn hebräisch gedacht haben und hebräisch geschrieben haben würden. Aber selbst wenn man zugeben wollte—was dem Schreiber dieses nicht möglich ist—dass ein Teil der neutestamentlichen Schriftsteller wirklich hebräisch und nicht aramäisch gedacht hat, so bliebe es doch ein Ding der Unmöglichkeit, festzustellen, wie das zur Zeit Jesu und der Apostel geschriebene Hebräisch im Einzelnen beschaffen war. Was Mar-

goliouth in "The Expositor" 1890 über die Sprache des Sirachbuches, Ryle und James in *Ψαλμοὶ Σαλομώντος* 1891 über das Original der Salomopsalmen, Resch in "Agrapha, Ausserkanonische Evangelienfragmente" 1889 über ein hebräisches Urevangelium beibringen, ist keineswegs völlig zuverlässig und würde selbst dann nicht genügen, ein wirkliches Bild des in jener Zeit geschriebenen Hebräisch zu geben. So bleiben uns als nächststehende Zeugen nur das Danielbuch und die Mischna, die doch selbst drei bis vier Jahrhunderte auseinanderliegen. Delitzsch hat nun gesucht, nach eigenem Ermessen aus dem Hebräischen aller Perioden seiner Geschichte bis zum Abschlusse der Mischna einen Dialekt zu bilden, welcher sich eigne, das Gefäß der neutestamentlichen Gedankenwelt zu werden. Er schien in letzter Zeit gefühlt zu haben, dass eine grössere Einheitlichkeit des sprachlichen Charakters der Übersetzung wünschenswert und dass gerade das Neuhebräische der Mischna und des älteren Midrasch das Idiom sei, welchem die neutestamentliche Schreibweise am nächsten stehe. In dieser Richtung bewegte sich deshalb vorwiegend seine Umarbeitung der Übersetzung, ohne dass doch die ursprüngliche mehr althebräisch gefasste Grundlage völlig verwischt worden wäre. Diese sprachliche Zwittergestalt der Übersetzung, in Folge deren ältestes und neuestes oft hart nebeneinander stehn, erschwerte, wie sich begreifen lässt, dem Herausgeber seine Aufgabe nicht wenig. Doch wird zugegeben werden können, dass das von Delitzsch mit grossem Taktgefühl durchgeführte sprachliche Compromiss vielleicht der einzig mögliche Ausweg aus einem schwierigen Dilemma war. Dass die neutestamentliche Offenbarung in alttestamentlichen Hebräisch sich nicht treu wiedergeben lässt, ist eine durch das für klassisches Hebräisch ausgegebene hebräische Neue Testament Salkinsons nur zu deutlich bewiesene Thatsache. Andererseits konnte ein heiliges Buch, die Vollendung der alttestamentlichen Offenbarung, aus Schicklichkeitsgründen nicht in das Gewand des rabbinischen Idioms gekleidet werden, denn nicht mit Talmud und Midrasch, sondern mit dem Alten Testament bildet es ein Ganzes. So kam es zu jener den Sprachgelehrten störenden Zusammenarbeit verschiedener Idiome.

Aber noch in einer anderen Beziehung war ein Compromiss zu schliessen. Das hebr. Neue Testament sollte nicht den Juden den talmudischer Zeit, sondern der Gegenwart Christum verkündigen. Das von den Juden unserer Zeit geschriebene Hebräisch ist aber für gewöhnlich von Germanismen ganz durchsetzt, und gerade dann, wenn es klassisch sein will, ist es ein so willkürliches Gemisch von alttestamentlichen Phrasen, denen meist ein ihnen fremder Sinn untergelegt wird, dass es sich wohl zu einem Tummelfeld für Geist und Witz eignen mag, aber weder den Linguisten, noch den nüchternen einfachen Leser befriedigt. Dem im modernen Hebräisch sich kundgebenden schlechten Geschmack vieler Juden, über welchen seit S. O. Luzzatto schon manche einsichtsvolle Männer aus ihrer eigenen Mitte bittere Klage geführt haben, durften sicherlich keine Koncessionen gemacht werden. Aber doch durfte das hebr. Neue Testament nichts enthalten, was vom jüdischen Leser der Neuzeit entweder gar nicht oder falsch verstanden worden

wäre. Dahin gehörten insbesondere eine grosse Zahl von Ausdrücken, welche ein zur Zeit der Apostel hebräisch schreibender Schriftsteller als griechische Fremdwörter stehen gelassen hätte. Wir erfahren aus Targum, Midrasch und Talmud, dass das Hebräische für viele in nachbiblischer Zeit in den Gesichtskreis der Juden tretende Dinge keine eigenen Ausdrücke gebildet hatte, ja dass sogar zuweilen Fremdwörter sich für Dinge einbürgerten, welche längst einen entsprechenden hebräischen Ausdruck besaßen. Die "Volksmenge" war auch in hebräischer Sprache *δχλος*, die "Familie" *γένος*, das "Zeichen" *σημεῖον*, der "Preis" *τιμή*, das "Geschenk" *δῶρον*, das "Thor" *πύλη*, das "Frühmal" *ἄριστον*. Griechisch benannte man fast alles, was dem Gerichts- und Verwaltungswesen angehörte. Wir nennen Ausdrücke wie *συνέδριον* "Gerichtshof," *κατήγωρ* "Ankläger," *παράκλητος* "Anwalt," *ἀντίδικος* "Widersacher," *καταδική* "Verurteilung," *διαθήκη* "Testament," *ὦνή* "Kauf," dann *νόμος* "Gesetz," *ἀρχή* "Regierung," *βουλή* "Rat," *βουλευτής* "Ratsherr," *ἐπίτροπος* "Verwalter," *ἀνθύπατος* "Proconsul," *στρατηγός* "Feldherr," *στρωτός* "Soldat," *σπεῖρα* "Kohorte." Da den heutigen Juden die genaue Bedeutung jener ihnen zwar nicht völlig fremden Fremdwörter meist unbekannt ist, waren für alles dies einigermaßen entsprechende hebräische Ausdrücke zu wählen. Die Kohorte wurde *קָהָל*, der Ratsherr *יַעֲזִי*, *Ζεῖς*, dessen Namen die ganze rabbinische Litteratur geflissentlich zu nennen vermeidet, sogar zu *בַּל*, da *זֵנוּס*, welches der spätgriechischen Aussprache entsprochen hätte den Juden eben so unverstänlich geblieben wäre wie etwa ein lateinisches *יוֹפִיטֶר*.

Für den Druck der neuen Auflage, welche 469 Seiten in kleinem Octavformat zählt, wurden von der berühmten Officin von W. Drugulin in Leipzig neue Lettern nach jüdischen Mustern, die zu diesem Zweck aus Russland beschafft worden waren, hergestellt. Diesen Lettern wurden zum ersten Mal die Vocale angegossen und dadurch der sonst unvermeidlichen Beschädigung vieler Typen während des Druckprocesses wirksam vorgebeugt. Leider waren die zu den Überschriften benutzten Typen nicht von dieser Gattung, wodurch es sich erklärt, dass die Presse hier an einigen Stellen recht ärgerlichen Schaden anrichtete. In dem von mir dem Neuen Testamente vorangeschickten Vorwort an den Leser habe ich darauf aufmerksam gemacht.

Eine praktischen Zwecken dienende Übersetzung heiliger Schrift, wenn sie nicht zur Paraphrase werden soll, bleibt immer etwas Unvollkommenes. Es war nun einmal nicht Zufall, sondern göttliche Fügung, dass die vollendete Offenbarung in Christo nicht aramäisch, auch nicht hebräisch, sondern griechisch unter die Völker hinaustrat, und es ist auch nicht Zufall, sondern Folge des von Israel über sich heraufbeschworenen Gerichts, dass das Wort des erfüllten Neuen Bundes nicht als hebräisches Original, sondern als Übersetzung aus dem Griechischen nun zu ihm wieder zurückkehrt. Möchte aber diese neue Anbietung des Heils in hebräischer Zunge, durch welche Christus zum zweiten Male als *γενόμενος ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυείδ κατὰ σάρκα* unter sein Volk tritt, ihm nicht aufs neue zum Gericht, sondern zum Heile ausschlagen!

An den Schluss setze ich eine Übersicht über alle bisher ausgegangenen Ausgaben von Delitzsch's Hebräischen Neuen Testament nach 'The Eighty-seventh Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society' (1891) S. 440.

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